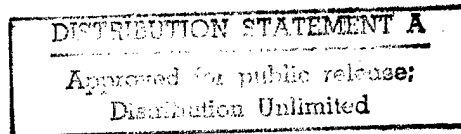


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JPRS 83433

9 May 1983



# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 418

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## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PLO OFFICIAL CRITICIZES U.S. GOVERNMENT

OW151130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0756 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Text] Washington, April 14 (XINHUA)--A Palestine Liberation Organization official denounced the United States Government for its "slander" and "distortions" against the PLO at a press conference here today.

Hasan 'Abd ar-Rahman, director of the Palestine Information Office in Washington, said that the U.S. Government has recently started a "concerted campaign of slander, distortions and malicious allegations designed to discredit" the Palestine Liberation Organization's objectives and decisions in the wake of Jordan's announcement not to take part in the U.S.-proposed Middle East peace process.

Ar-Rahman's remarks were a reply to the charge made by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on April 12 that the PLO had not acted responsibly in representing Palestinians and that the Arab League "made a mistake" in making the PLO the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

"In our view, this is a futile attempt to divert the attention of the American public from the deficiencies inherent within the United States' policies towards the Palestinian people's rights and their legitimate representative, the PLO," he said.

He stressed that the United States should "behave in a serious manner and adopt a fair-minded and balanced policy of recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, and to respect their right to decide their own destiny through their own legitimate representative, the PLO."

On President Reagan's peace initiative, he said, "We recognize that the Reagan plan contains some positive points; but more importantly we feel that it lacks some very essential elements necessary for it to become an adequate basis for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Those elements are the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people including their right to an independent state and the right of the PLO to represent the Palestinian people." He said these human and political rights belong to this generation as well as to future generations of Palestinians.

He said the United States Government has laid the blame on the PLO but ignored the fact that Israel has categorically rejected President Reagan's plan.

Ar-Rahman also noted that King Hassan of Morocco, King Husayn of Jordan, and President Mubarak of Egypt were told last year that a timetable for Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon would be achieved in December or February. "It is now April 14 and this objective has not been achieved. This raises serious questions in the minds of Arab leaders and the Arab people about the ability or the willingness of the United States to deliver on its commitments," he said.

He said that the Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue will continue for both sides share common objectives and are threatened by Israeli expansionism.

CSO: 4000/109

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### L.A. OFFICIALS ON ROLE OF U.S., USSR, CUBA

OW151429 Beijing XINHUA in English 1312 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Text] Bogota, April 14 (XINHUA)--Colombian Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo said today that the mediation for peace in Central America is entirely a "Latin American affair" and the United States, the Soviet Union and Cuba should look at the initiative with good intentions.

Lloreda Caicedo was speaking at a press conference after returning from a visit to five Central American countries together with the foreign ministers of Panama, Mexico and Venezuela. The visit is the latest Latin American initiative to bring about peace in the war-torn Central America.

"There is no doubt that we will enter a stage in which cooperation from the United States, the Soviet Union and Cuba are needed," he told reporters.

These countries, which provide economic and military aid to different countries in Central America, should realize that antagonism to the peace effort will cost them politically, he stated.

The well-known foreign interference in the region is one of the causes for the disturbance there, the minister said, adding that increased foreign intervention will inevitably extend the regional conflict beyond the region.

He said the result of the mediation effort is "positive" and the four ministers will soon begin new consultations.

Meanwhile, Venezuelan Foreign Minister Jose Zambrano Velasco told reporters in Caracas today that the visit is the first stage of their mediation effort. It is tight-scheduled and fruitful.

The ministers have acquired first-hand knowledge about the situation in Central America through the visit, which will help them fulfil their peace mission, he said.

In order to bring about peace in the region, he stated, it is necessary to open dialogues on the basis of absolute respect for the principle of non-interference and for the rights to self-determination of the peoples there.

CSO: 4000/109

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NICARAGUA'S D'ESCOTO SAYS U.S. WAGING WAR IN L.A.

OW151808 Beijing XINHUA in English 1508 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Text] Bogota, April 14 (XINHUA)--Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto today accused the United States of preparing an intervention in Central America.

The visiting minister said at a press conference here that "the fundamental problem is that the Reagan administration is waging a war against Latin America." "The United States has been exerting political, economic and moral pressure on Latin American nations in an attempt to force them to adopt in their domestic politics measures it sees appropriate, and when the pressure failed to attain the goal, it claimed rights including shipment of weapons," he added.

He also predicted that "a war against Nicaragua today will likely become one against any other Latin American nation tomorrow."

D'Escoto regarded the Contadora proposal as "very positive," saying that "the declaration of the group of Contadora has given us much confidence." He said: "We will continue our cooperation with the group of Contadora till we have attained our goal." He also stressed that "with the consolidation of the unity of Latin American countries, we may be able to cope with an intervention in the area." The Contadora proposal, put forth by Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela and Panama last January in Contadora in Panama, calls for direct negotiations among Central American nations, withdrawal of foreign military advisers and a halt to arms exports to the region.

Speaking of the civil war in Nicaragua, D'Escoto said the invasion by Somoza elements hatched by the United States "has been put under control" at present, but it is impossible to wipe out the elements in one or two weeks.

The foreign minister began his visit to Colombia yesterday.

CSO: 4000/109



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PROBLEMS IN CANADA-U.S. ECONOMIC RELATIONS REPORTED

OW151246 Beijing XINHUA in English 1237 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Report by Zhao Zhongqiang, XINHUA correspondent]

[Text] Ottawa, April 14--For those living in Canada, not only the closeness of economic ties with the United States is felt everywhere, but also their conflicts, all the more so when both countries are in the grip of an economic recession.

At the turn of the current year, a host of disputes have flared up between the two countries. Outstanding among them are:

Air passenger fares. Some air lines in both countries have been running at a loss as a result of economic recession. To attract more U.S.-bound tourists, Air Canada cut its fares by a drastic 70 percent last winter, a move which touched off an outcry from U.S. air companies. The U.S. official quarters, with the blessing of its President and secretary of state, threatened to cancel Air Canada's flights to the United States.

After protracted bargaining, the Canadian side agreed to transfer half the Australia-bound passengers originally booked with Canadian Pacific Airlines to the U.S. Air Continental, thus bringing the dispute temporarily to a halt. The Canadian daily "Journal" had this to say: "The affair is one more sign that in the Reagan government's view any American firm is entitled to any foreign business it wants, whatever the cost to the foreign country."

Acid rain. The quarrel between the two countries over the battle against acid rain has dragged on for several years. During his visit to the United States this week, Canadian Foreign Minister Allan Joseph MacEachen held seven hours of talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, mainly on the acid rain issue, but they failed to iron out their differences.

Canada has more than once proposed joint actions by the two countries to reduce the acid rain by half by 1990. But all the Canadian initiatives have been rejected by the United States on the ground that they are either premature or too costly.

Last month, the U.S. Justice Department labelled three Canadian films as "political propaganda" and restricted their showing in the United States. Two of the films dealt with the environmental hazards posed by the acid rain.

More recently, the United States took advantage of the oil price cut by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to press Canada to cut down its prices of crude and natural gas.

Disputes have also arisen between the two countries over many other issues such as timber and car exports, construction of oil pipelines and sophisticated technological research.

Canada and the United States have close ties and are economically interdependent. But aware that it is no match for the United States in economic power, Canada is now more eager to end economic dependence on its southern neighbor.

CSO: 4000/109

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED AGAINST AFGHAN GUERRILLAS

OW220120 Beijing XINHUA in English 0102 GMT 22 Apr 83

[Text] New York, April 21 (XINHUA)--Heavy casualties were reported in a major Soviet-led offensive against Afghan guerrillas, which was said to be continuing on the outskirts of Herat in the northwest Afghanistan near the Iranian border.

The NEW YORK TIMES today quoted a diplomatic report from Kabul as saying that Soviet and Kabul government troops opened the assault after making heavy air attacks on Herat areas suspected of sheltering Moslem guerrillas opposed to the Karmal government.

The drive reportedly followed several major guerrilla attacks on Soviet and Kabul forces. The offensive came amid preparations in Kabul for observance of the fifth anniversary of the military coup of April 27, 1978, which placed the first of three pro-Soviet governments in power in Kabul.

Heavy fighting was also reported this month between Soviet troops and Afghan guerrillas around the southern cities of Qandahar and Ghazni and at Mazar-e Sharif, near the Afghan-Soviet frontier.

A major guerrilla victory was reported from the northern Panjshir Valley, through which the main highway connecting Kabul with the Soviet Union runs. There three Afghan guerrilla factions were said to have united for an ambush on April 1 of a large Soviet-Kabul military convoy, killing or capturing many soldiers.

On April 2, guerrillas reportedly overran a military post in southern Kabul, killing or capturing all the troops.

The diplomatic report said that a violent demonstration erupted in Kabul on April 3 after a Soviet soldier shot and killed a young Afghan student. After the shooting, hundreds of Kabul residents shouted anti-Soviet slogans and hurled rocks at the Soviet soldier and his vehicle.

Afghan guerrillas were reported to have mounted attacks on a government center in Qandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city.

CSO: 4000/109

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SRV REPORTED POISED FOR ATTACK ON KAMPUCHEAN BORDER

18 April Report

OW181125 Beijing XINHUA in English 0759 GMT 18 Apr 83

[Text] Bangkok, April 18 (XINHUA)--The Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea have been poised to launch an offensive against the Democratic Kampuchean resistance forces at the border opposite Ta Phraya District, Prachinburi Province of Thailand, according to the "Bangkok Post" quoting the information department of the Supreme Command of the Thai Armed Forces.

About 3,000-5,000 Vietnamese aggressor troops, backed by 15 Soviet-made T-54 and T-55 tanks, have been moved into positions in the vicinity of a Kampuchean encampment opposite Thailand's Nong Samet, where about 1,500 Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas and some 70,000 Kampuchean civilians are now living.

According to another military report received here, the National Army and guerrillas of Democratic Kampuchea yesterday morning launched an attack on the Vietnamese troops at a position opposite Thailand's Ta Phraya District. The fierce battle lasted one hour.

20 April Report

OW201416 Beijing XINHUA in English 1400 GMT 20 Apr 83

[Text] Bangkok, April 20 (XINHUA)--Vietnamese troops are preparing for a full-scale offensive against two huge Kampuchean refugee camps at Nong Samet and Ban Sa-ngae on Thai soil, said Col. Kittu Buddhoborn, commander of the Thai task force in charge of border affairs, Tuesday.

He was quoted by "The Nations Review" Wednesday as saying that the situation there was "too dangerous."

According to military sources, new fighting broke out yesterday around Chang Kakor, Phnom Chat and Phnom Pra, four kilometers to the north of Nong Samet camp, which houses more than 70,000 Kampuchean civilians.

The National Army and guerrillas of Democratic Kampuchea launched fierce attacks on Vietnamese entrenched at Phnom Pra.

About 50 Vietnamese shells were reported to have landed on Thai territory. The Thai gunners retaliated with an intense artillery and mortar barrage. At least 20 Vietnamese soldiers were believed to have been killed in the artillery duel.

CSO: 4000/109

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'GROUP OF 77' MEETING CALLS FOR NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

LD080336 Beijing XINHUA in English 1857 GMT 7 Apr 83

[Text] Buenos Aires, April 7 (XINHUA)--Participants of the fifth ministerial meeting of the "Group of 77" have stressed the importance to strengthen the South-South unity and cooperation in the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order.

In his speech, Colombian Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo strongly condemned the protectionist policy adopted by the developed countries. He called on the developing countries to set up a firm front in dealing with the more apparently unbalanced international economic structure arising from the sharp cutbacks in prices for primary products.

Speaking for the Non-Aligned Movement, Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao said worldwide negotiations on breaking the old international economic order must be started to help overcome the world economic crisis. Emergency measures must also be adopted to ensure a stable growth of world economy, he added.

Brazilian Foreign Minister Saraiva Guerreiro said that a complete settlement of the world economic problems must be worked out with the participation of developing countries.

Guerreiro said the world economic crisis is one of the world economic system rather than that of the developing countries.

Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov said that the existing imbalance in the present world economy cannot be eliminated through "shifting burdens onto the developing nations," but instead by a restructuring of the world economic order.

Bolivian Foreign Minister Mario Velarde Dorado called for unity among the poor nations in their struggle against the old economic order and economic injustice.

Khieu Samphan, Democratic Kampuchean vice-president in charge of foreign affairs, noted that the present economic crisis is a product of the outmoded economic structure.

Representatives of Romania, Mexico, Sri Lanka, Peru and Liberia also stressed the urgency to overhaul the old world economic order.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOUTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE SPEECHES, SUMMARY REPORTED

Tanzanian Scholar's Speech

OW041719 Beijing XINHUA in English 1413 GMT 4 Apr 83

[Text] Beijing, April 14 (XINHUA)--Dr. Samuel Wangwe from Tanzania told the Beijing South-South Conference today that there is an urgent need to restructure the present economies in Africa and make them more self-reliant, more integrated and less import dependent.

Dr. Wangwe is dean of the faculty of arts and social sciences, the University of Dar es Salaam.

Discussing Africa's economic development strategies in his paper, he said that, to attain the objectives of self-reliance and self-sustainment, it will be necessary to establish national, sub-regional and regional institutions.

"It is in this framework that the concept of collective self-reliance could be extended to the Third World, increasingly replacing the North-South links with South-South links," he said.

Wangwe explored in his paper the impact of international and internal factors on African economies, as well as Africa's agricultural and industrial development strategies and policies.

Wangwe said Africa suffers most from recession in the industrial economies since it is the most primary-products dependent region in the world. In some African countries, primary agricultural products constitute 90 per cent of their exports. Because of the deterioration in trade conditions and declines in the export volume, Africa's current account deficit increased from 1,900 million U.S. dollars in 1973 to 13,700 million in 1981, he said.

The worsening of the terms of loans from industrialized countries had pushed up the public debts in Sub-Saharan Africa to more than 32,100 million U.S. dollars in 1979, Dr. Wangwe noted.

He said over 75 per cent of the African population lives on farming and agriculture accounts for over 40 per cent of the general domestic product

in most areas. Agriculture is of great significance to Africa and whether poverty in rural Africa can be wiped out is of great concern. Wangwe said that the level of industrial development varies from area to area, and the growth rate of African industry needs to be raised immediately.

After expounding the strategies and policies for developing agriculture and industry in Africa, Wangwe said that the climate in Africa requires expansion of irrigation in rural areas, efforts to encourage peasants to grow drought-resistant crops and develop quick yielding varieties for areas with short rain seasons.

He said it is worth looking into pricing policies and marketing systems of both food crops and exports. It is necessary to raise the yields and improve the drought resistance in tackling the problems of staple food crops, he said.

One of the tasks for industrialization is to spread industrial techniques of organization and production in order to control and manipulate the physical environment in the interests of society, Wangwe said.

He also called for stepping up preparations for the use of the potentially available hydroelectric power, solar energy and coal to replace the costly oil.

Wangwe concluded that the development experience in Africa points to the need to choose economic activities and technologies with a view to reducing import dependence and make use of domestic resources.

Choice of economic activities will have to rely on the immense human and natural resources of Africa, he said. Choice of the output-mix would have to give high priority to the development of linkages in the African economies and to the development of the technological capacities. Measures for the basic restructuring of the economic base of Africa will have to follow the regional approach based primarily on collective self-reliance.

#### Guyana's Ramphal Speaks

OW050936 Beijing XINHUA in English 0913 GMT 5 Apr 83

[Text] Beijing, April 5 (XINHUA)--Shridath Ramphal, commonwealth secretary-general (Guyana), said today that to secure increased power and influence in the dialogue with the North, "the Third World must take collective action, pooling its bargaining strength."

Presenting a paper to the Beijing South-South Conference now in session, he noted, "South-South cooperation will increase collective self-reliance and, by reducing dependence on the North for food, finance and technology, and increase the South's bargaining power."

He proposed that a Third World secretariat be set up to coordinate the Third World initiative and promote the North-South dialogue.



Speaking of the present world situation, Ramphal observed, "In many spheres of global economic relations, the law of the jungle still applies, with a particularly harsh impact on the weaker nations."

"Part of the reason for this is that the major international financial and economic institutions were set up at a time when the Third World was still in embryo. Moreover, to the normal rigidities built into institutional power structures must be added, as we have seen, the reluctance of those who have power to agree to its being shared," he added.

As early as 1960s, he recalled, the developing countries began to take initiatives to change this situation by starting North-South dialogue, in an effort to construct a new and equal international economic order.

Two decades of effort at North-South economic cooperation have shown "little return," he said, and there had been increasing adoption of discriminatory restrictive non-tariff measures against developing countries, when deep economic recession swept the West, leading to declining income and living standards.

Analysing the reasons behind the stalemate in the North-South dialogue, Ramphal said that the passiveness of the North was one of the major factors. "It has tended to wait on the South to take the initiative, and then to denigrate and reject Southern proposals without offering alternatives," he said. This is due to their reluctance to lose power.

He said that there were shortcomings on the part of the Third World, for instance, some proposals were not adequately considered. "The South must be flexible, innovating, experimenting and constantly adopting in order to succeed," he pointed out.

"The deep recession has dramatically demonstrated the extent of inter-dependence between North and South and the need for positive action by the North in its own interests as well as those of the South," he continued.

He criticized in his paper the superpowers for their rivalries and big arms sales. In face of this situation, the small and medium-sized countries in the world had to arm themselves so as to survive, thus spoiling their economic development, he said. He proposed that collective arrangements be made to ensure national security.

#### Conference Success Summarized

OW071228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1156 GMT 7 Apr 83

[Text] Beijing, April 7 (XINHUA)--The Beijing South-South Conference is a highly fruitful one involving a critical and objective appraisal of development strategies, the causes of the stalemate in North-South negotiations and prospects and opportunities for effective South-South cooperation.

This statement was made in a co-chairmen's summary of conclusions handed out by the conference's secretariat at the end of the conference this afternoon.

The summary says that the discussions held by eminent statesmen and scholars underlined the central importance of South-South cooperation in any Southern strategy for development, negotiations and cooperation, aimed at the establishment of a new international economic order.

The summary says that the conference was held when the world was gravely affected by the global economic crisis which was a symptom of the structural inadequacies and failure of the existing international economic order.

The summary says the worst sufferers had been the Third World countries. The economic situation of the least developed countries had become acute.

The summary says the major industrialised countries must accept primary responsibility for the crisis and must not be permitted to shift the main burden of adjustment to the developing countries. The North had an obligation to adopt positive measures, in cooperation with the South, to relieve the crisis and initiate world economic recovery on a sustained and equitable basis.

The summary says the developing countries could not extricate themselves from their difficulties and put their national economies on a path of steady development and prosperity merely by waiting for the economic recovery of the developed countries. The South must act in unity and rely on its own human and economic resources for its growth and development.

The summary says that the conference recognised the positive significance of the conclusions of the seventh non-aligned summit held recently in New Delhi, including those embodied in the economic declaration, the declaration on collective self-reliance among non-aligned and other developing countries and the action programme for economic cooperation. It looked forward to the conclusions of the ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 currently being held in Buenos Aires. The conclusions of both meetings would play a major role in Third World action in coming months.

The summary says that the developing countries so far had formulated and implemented different kinds of socio-economic development strategies. The real criterion of the success of a development strategy is the level of socio-economic development of a country, particularly the extent to which the people benefit from it.

The summary says that developing countries must, of course, formulate their development strategies in the light of their national conditions. But the overall strategic objectives of all the developing countries were common: the attainment of economic independence, increased production and a better life for the people. These were interdependent and mutually complementary. To attain these objectives, it was essential to pursue a policy of self-reliance and to mobilise all the resources and creative potential of the people.

The summary says that the conference expressed deep concern over the stalemate in the North-South dialogue and felt that this could reverse the process begun since the 1970s to establish the new international economic order through negotiations.

The summary says that the main obstacle in the way of North-South negotiations was the rigid attitude of the United States administration and the governments of a few other developed countries determined to preserve their advantage and vested interests.

The summary says that in order to get the best results from the North-South dialogue, it was necessary to aim at a comprehensive and integrated settlement of North-South economic issues by launching the global negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations.

The most urgent problems and issues now facing the developing countries, the summary says, were the balance of payments gap; the need for debt reorganization; the need to undertake special measures to assist the least developed countries; and a program of removal of obstacles to access of the developing country products to the markets of the developed countries.

The summary says that the conference was of the opinion that the existing international monetary and financial system had failed to meet the needs of the world economy, and its failure had most adversely affected the developing countries. It was imperative to reform the system in the interest of the revival and growth of the world economy.

The summary holds that increased cooperation had become a matter of paramount importance in view of the emerging trend in the world economy. Increased South-South cooperation did not preclude or replace the development of North-South economic relations. South-South cooperation must be based on equality and mutual benefits, with each country benefitting therefrom while contributing its share. The objective should be to achieve common progress through mutual assistance and by making up for each other's deficiencies so that the developing countries should be able to consolidate their political independence by means of their economic independence.

The summary says that the present offers an opportune moment to advance South-South cooperation vigorously. The developing countries can take advantage of a more rational division of labour among themselves in the light of their respective natural, social and historical conditions. The strength of the South lies in the fact that it consists of over 120 countries, making up two-thirds of the world's population. Countries of the South occupy most of the world's land for agricultural development, although major efforts are needed to harness this potential. Some countries of the South have emerged as major investors internationally. Finally the scientists of the South have begun to make significant contribution to the technological progress of mankind. The South can utilize these resources for its own autonomous advance through diverse forms of cooperation in finance, trade, energy, raw materials, technology, food and other fields. Cooperation among the developing countries--bilateral, sub-regional,

regional and global--could all develop actively in a mutually complementary manner.

The summary points out a practical orientation must be given to South-South cooperation, identifying actual needs and existing conditions, giving play to the strong points and potentials of the countries concerned so as to attain good economic results.

The summary also explores effective measures and ways for the South-South cooperation in finance, trade, energy research and development, food and agricultural production.

The summary says the conference recognised that there were many paths to this goal and that among them was the process of Third World consultation at the level of eminent persons supported by on-going professional work. It was important that such consultations be broadly-based as Beijing '83 itself had amply demonstrated.

The summary describes the continued identification of the Chinese people and scholars with the cause of the Third World as immensely valuable.

The summary supports a continuing process of consultation between Third World scholars, with Beijing '83 becoming South-South 1--the first in a series of regular consultations linked by programs of work at a variety of levels. Such consultations could be held in a different Third World capital until the goals of the Third World in development, negotiation and cooperation have been met. The conference welcomed the indications that the Third World foundation would contribute to such a process and encouraged it to continue to play a catalytic role in the development and implementation of effective follow-up action in support of Beijing '83.

The summary says in conclusion: "All those who participated in this conference regarded it as a unique, stimulating and valuable occasion. It has helped to sharpen their individual perception and to deepen their collective resolve. And their experience of sharing ideas with Chinese scholars has confirmed the immense possibility that arise from China's active association with the struggle of all developing countries for the realisation of the new international economic order. In the final analysis, there is only one world whose bounty must be shared by all its people on a just and equitable basis. Only through social and economic justice worldwide can there be peace and prosperity for anyone. All countries and peoples had an ultimate interest in the cause of the Third World and must contribute to its fulfilment. Through deepening South-South cooperation, more constructive North-South negotiations and truly effective development strategy the Third World can in fact help to lead mankind away from the dangers that now threaten its future on the planet. Despite current frustrations, therefore, Beijing 1983 and the work of South-South cooperation that lies ahead represents not only a continuing struggle but a source of sustained hope for the future of the Third World and the peoples of all countries."

CSO: 4000/109

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' NOTES U.S.-EUROPEAN AGRICULTURAL TRADE WAR

HK040313 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 83 p 7

["Roundup" by Zhang Yunwen [1723 0336 2429]: "U.S.-European Agricultural Produce Trade War Heats Up"]

[Text] At the end of March, John R. Block, U.S. secretary of agriculture, and a European parliamentary delegation, including Louis Ai-luo [1002 5012] of France, a member of the EEC Agriculture Committee, simultaneously visited Egypt both for the purpose of marketing their surplus agricultural products. Block declared that when the United States found that its trade interests were threatened, it was forced to "compete" with others. Members of the EEC delegation declared that "the EEC can provide the same terms for Egypt as the United States" and that "if the United States is allowed to dump its agricultural products, the EEC can do the same." This shows that there is an escalatory trend in the two parties' scramble for a greater share of the world market in which to dump their large amounts of surplus agricultural products.

Since the end of last year, the United States and the EEC have held four rounds of talks in rotation in Brussels and Washington in order to solve the disputes between the two parties over the trade in agricultural products. The last round of talks involving high-ranking officials was held at the request of the West European countries when there was a move in the U.S. Congress for the formulation of an act to facilitate dumping of U.S. surplus milk products in the Third World. As soon as the talks ended, the U.S. delegation to the talks expressed the view that the possibility of giving price subsidies for dumping agricultural products could not be excluded. On the other hand, Wilhelm Haferkamp, vice president of the European Commission, warned that the United States' practice of scrambling for a larger share of the agricultural product market might bring about "serious injury" to trade relationships between the two parties. World press circles were of the opinion that this meant that the EEC might ban the import of \$4 billion of fodder, soybeans and other U.S. agricultural products.

U.S.-European agricultural product trade wars took place quite often in the 1960's and 1970's, but none of them was as serious a confrontation as the present one. During the past few years, along with the worsening of economies throughout the capitalist world, increasingly great amounts of

agricultural products have been stockpiled and the international market for agricultural products has been shrinking daily. As a result, the contradiction has intensified. It became white-hot at last year's GATT session, at which the United States denounced the Western European countries for their policy of subsidizing their export of agricultural products because this had seriously hindered U.S. export of agricultural products. On 3 March this year, the GATT organization refuted the charge that the United States put forth last year and held that in an investigation into 17 markets, no evidence could be found for the charge that the Europeans had controlled most of the world market by means of giving price subsidies. However, the United States has not been satisfied. In spite of repeated statements issued by the two parties on their desire to avoid a trade war, in January this year, the United States sold 1 million tons of flour at \$25 below the world market price to Egypt, an old purchaser of French flour. World public opinion regarded this as the "first round of fire" marking the beginning of an agricultural product trade war.

As soon as the third round of talks between the United States and Europe ended in the middle of March, the U.S. Department of Commerce announced that U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Block would visit Tunisia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. Block's aim in visiting the Middle East is obvious. He wanted U.S. agricultural products to enter Western Europe's traditional market. Moreover, he declared that the United States might manage to sell \$1 billion of agricultural products to the four countries. The EEC delegation thought that this was "very disturbing" news.

If we say that a few months ago, the United States only threatened in words to retaliate against Western Europe for giving price subsidies for the export of agricultural products, it has now put its threats into action. It is reported that the United States is holding talks with Egypt on giving price subsidies for the export of 24,000 tons of butter and 12,000 tons of powdered milk to Egypt. On 28 March, Block declared that the United States would provide Egypt with \$50 million of loans for the purchase of American agricultural products and that he thought that Egypt was a market of vital importance for the United States. He furthermore stressed that subsidizing the export of agricultural products had already become a "lifestyle" and the United States "had no other way out." In the middle of March, the United States exported 3 million tons of grain to Morocco. At present, it is holding talks with Iraq on the export of \$250 million of American agricultural products. Iraq is also a traditional market for EEC agricultural products. According to statistics, the United States is holding talks with 12 Middle East and Latin American countries on trade in agricultural products. While the United States was advancing toward the traditional markets of the EEC, the EEC announced that it would increase its export of butter to the Soviet Union at a price below that within EEC countries. EEC officials are of the opinion that an agricultural product trade war between the United States and Western Europe for the world market for agricultural products is more imminent than ever.

The existence of large amounts of surplus agricultural products is a very vexing problem for both the United States and Western Europe. The United

States has stockpiled half of the surplus grain in the world, which is worth \$10 billion. Moreover, it has stockpiled \$3.5 billion of milk products, which is half the value of the milk products traded in the world. Similarly, Europe has stockpiled 336,000 tons of butter and 600,000 tons of powdered milk. The United States has to spend \$6 billion in keeping these agricultural products in store every year. The EEC's budget for this year includes \$16 billion to be spent on storing and marketing surplus agricultural products. Because the U.S. dollar is strong and the world is in an economic recession, U.S. exports of agricultural products have dropped to a 13-year low. On the other hand, the excessive amount of surplus agricultural products and the sharp decrease in their prices will certainly cause the EEC to increase its subsidies for the export of agricultural products and its storing expenditure. As a result, the United Kingdom, which is not much benefited by agricultural subsidies, has to increase the funds it provides for the EEC. This will aggravate the internal contradictions in the EEC. The increasingly fierce scramble for markets for agricultural products between the United States and Europe will affect the political relations between the two parties and internal relations in the EEC.

CSO: 4005/749

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BA YI REAFFIRMS MAO ARTICLE ON U.S. IMPERIALISM

OW030104 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 1 Apr 83

[Text] The hostility and discrimination of U.S. imperialism against China politically, militarily, in trade and especially on the Taiwan issue once again attest to the correctness of Chairman Mao's article "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle." Thirty-three years ago he wrote: Some have illusions about the United States. They are easily duped by the honeyed words of the U.S. imperialists as though they would deal with People's China on the basis of equality and mutual benefit without a stern, long struggle.

Today, those who still have illusions about U.S. imperialism and who refuse to come to their senses in view of the U.S. imperialists' deception, crude interference in China's internal affairs and malicious attack on our party's policies might as well restudy Chairman Mao's writings which state that the nature of U.S. imperialism will never change.

Early in World War II after Japan's invasion of China, the United States took advantage of the conflict between China and Japan to maintain its interests in the Asia-Pacific region on the one hand, and, on the other hand, used China as a trade-off in seeking a compromise with Japan in dividing up this region. Therefore, when Japan expanded its aggression against China, the United States steadily shipped large quantities of war materials to Japan. Japan imported almost all of the petroleum, iron, aircraft parts and the like needed for its aggression against China from the United States. From 1937 to 1940--the most frenzied period of Japan's aggression against China, the war materials sold by the United States to Japan totaled as much as \$1 billion. From January through August of 1941 alone, when Japanese militarism was at the height of its arrogance, the United States supplied more strategic materials to Japan than in any other year.

Since Japan surrendered, U.S. imperialists have not given up their ambition to control the Asia-Pacific region. While energetically supporting the revival of Japanese militarism and strengthening Japan's naval, ground and air forces, they have made China's Taiwan Province an important U.S. strategic stronghold. As early as in the 1960's, (Ke Qiao Zhi), leader of the U.S. Navy's Special Research Center, wrote: Strategically, Taiwan



Island completes the chain of the U.S.-controlled region between Hokkaido and the Philippines. If Taiwan is lost, the price to take it in the future will be very high.

The China policy pursued by U.S. imperialism today is in fact a refurbished version of the Far East Munich strategy of the past, that is, to achieve a compromise between Japan and the United States, sacrifice China and direct the spearhead toward the Soviet Union as an attempt to turn China into U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet outpost in Asia.

Moreover, on the one hand, U.S. imperialists are singing the old tune that Taiwan is a strategic point lying on the sea routes to Korea and Japan and that 20 million Taiwan birds in hand is better than 1 billion birds in the woods; on the other hand, they have set up many military bases around our country and rigged up an anticommunist alliance.

In the words of U.S. imperialist chieftains, the United States has four main pillars on the globe--South Africa, Israel, South Korea and Taiwan. One of these is China's close neighbor and another is a Chinese province. Therefore, we say that it is pure illusion to count on the United States to sincerely help China economically or militarily.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S., JAPAN SAID TO POSE BIGGEST THREAT TO PRC

OW061139 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 4 Apr 83

[Text] At present, the propaganda outlines on international issues and the outlines of current events studies compiled by the political departments of many PLA units are divorced from reality in many respects and do not tally with the current international situation. It is very harmful to carry out such propaganda and education among PLA commanders and fighters. The army's duty is to defend the motherland and be prepared to repel enemy invaders at all times. Therefore, the commanders and fighters must be told the truth so that they know from where the greatest danger comes.

Judging either from the current situation or from a long-range strategic viewpoint, we know that the biggest threat to China comes from U.S. imperialism which daily becomes more and more arrogant and from Japan which is actively reviving militarism. U.S. military bases and strongholds are scattered all over the areas surrounding our country. They number a hundred including those on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and those in Australia, Thailand, the Philippines, South Korea, Japan and Taiwan of our country. They are like a chain blocking our country on the east, the south and the west. In addition, the United States actively developed military cooperation with Pakistan recently. Nevertheless, the propaganda outlines have not explicitly pointed out the ambitions of U.S. imperialism and the Japanese militarist clique to covet our land. At the same time, the U.S. Government has officially declared that Taiwan is an American bastion in Asia and that the United States will never abandon Taiwan. Besides, the United States has set up 119 military installations in Japan, a country in the vicinity of China. U.S. armed forces and their Japanese counterparts have held more than 130 joint military exercises.

The collusion between the United States and South Korea also poses a very big threat to China. The U.S. Government regards South Korea as a dagger defending American interests in east Asia. It has stationed a large number of armed forces in South Korea. Recently, it dispatched an electronic intelligence battalion to South Korea with the primary mission of collecting military intelligence on China. The recent joint military exercise held by the United States and South Korea was known as the largest military exercise ever held by the Western world. As many as some 188,000 troops participated in that military exercise.

People are surprised that certain central leaders are still wrongly describing the Japanese military buildup, the military collusion among the United States, Japan and South Korea and the U.S. military bases in Asia as means to counter the Soviet Union, although they no longer openly support U.S.-Japan and U.S.-South Korea military alliances as they did in the past, nor do they continue to instigate Japan to revive militarism. Such a view is very harmful because it will give U.S. imperialists and Japanese militarists a free hand to step up their military preparedness against China on the one hand, while, on the other hand, it will slacken the vigilance of our commanders and fighters. Therefore, the propaganda concerning international issues and the education in current events carried out among the commanders and fighters should conform to the present situation. We should have the courage to tell the commanders and fighters the truth.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'LIAOWANG' DISCUSSES POLISH SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION

HK190754 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 2, 20 Feb 83 pp 30-31

[Article by Chen Xueyan [7115 1331 3601]: "The Rise and Fall of the Solidarity Trade Union in Poland"]

[Text] On the tangled political stage of Poland, the Solidarity Trade Union once played a role which caused a sensation throughout the world. Some people denounced it and others praised it. Its rise and fall have penetratingly reflected an intricate trend in Poland in this historical period.

#### Rising in Revolt

On 1 July 1980, by raising meat prices by 40 percent, the Polish Government drew open the prelude to the most protracted and widespread social upheavals in the country since World War II. The staff and workers of the "Ulsus" [Wu er su si 3527 1422 5685 2448] tractor plant were the first to go on strike to express their strong dissatisfaction with the authorities. Then, the waves of strikes speedily spread to other parts of the country. The Lenin Shipyard and 21 big enterprises at Gdansk set up an "interfactory strike committee." Before long, it raised to the government a demand for setting up the independent self-governing trade union, Solidarity. New trade unions emerged one after another like mushrooms. In November of the same year, the Unified Solidarity Trade Union was officially set up with Lech Walesa as chairman.

The upheavals in Poland had their profound social background and complex political and economic factors. Over the past decade, former Polish leaders, in disregard of the actual conditions in their own country, followed a "new economic strategy" of "high development" by carrying out capital construction in a big way. They relied heavily on foreign loans for the capital construction funds. With old debts unrepayable and new debts constantly piling up, Poland had to repay the debts with over 80 percent of its exported goods. This aggravated the economic difficulties in Poland. Light industry, which had a direct bearing on the livelihood of the people, was especially backward and commodities were in short supply in the domestic market. Polish agriculture was backward for a long time and there was a serious shortage of foodstuffs on the market. Animal husbandry was developed on the basis of imported grain and fodder. Another factor contributing to

the upheavals in Poland was that democratic centralism suffered serious disruption. The phenomenon characterized by no distinction between party and government work was very conspicuous: the post of chairmen of the people's representative assemblies at various levels was, without exception, assumed by the first secretaries, and the legislative assembly also lost its role of supervising the government. A number of party and government leaders acted arbitrarily and seriously divorced themselves from the masses. Some of them even took advantage of their functions and powers to engage in profiteering, taking bribes, practicing graft and seeking private gain at public expense. Due to historical reasons, quite a few Poles felt a strong aversion to Russia. This national sentiment also constituted another latent factor for their dissatisfaction over the present state of affairs. Poland was extremely complicated in its social trend of thought. Ninety percent of the inhabitants were Catholics and two-thirds of party members believed in God. There were thousands of "political dissidents" in society. Poland is an East European country where the infiltration of the Western way of life is relatively serious. Bourgeois ideology and the influence of the Western way of life play a role that cannot be ignored in social life. The Solidarity Trade Union in Poland rose in revolt within the complicated social background mentioned above.

#### Evolution

In a certain sense, the onslaught made by the Solidarity Trade Union on the old Polish economic and political system through strikes in the initial period after its founding played a certain positive role. At that time, the Solidarity Trade Union raised the following slogan: "Strive for an appropriate means of supervision and for freedom of expressing views for the laboring people and defend the interests of the laboring people." Therefore, at the beginning, the Solidarity Trade Union indeed had a considerable mass basis. About 10 million of the 13 million Polish workers joined the Solidarity Trade Union.

After the founding of the Solidarity Trade Union, however, it had [word illegible] of fierce trial of strength with the government on various issues, such as the adoption of a 5-day work week, the establishment of a rural Solidarity, setting dissidents free and restoring the jobs of those staff and workers who had been dismissed. Protest actions, such as strikes, hunger strikes, sit-in demonstrations and occupation of administrative organs, occurred one after another.

As time went by, some leaders at the upper level who controlled the Solidarity Trade Union, gradually changed the orientation of this organization. At the beginning, it professed to be a "nonpolitical body with no intention of playing the role of a political party." In September and October of 1981, in its first congress, the Solidarity Trade Union perfected the central leading body organizationally and, in the "program of action" it adopted, indicated its readiness to build Poland into an "autonomous republic." In order to realize this program, the Solidarity Trade Union raised a series of demands aimed at removing the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and diametrically opposing the policies, laws and

decrees of the authorities. It was considered an "opposition party." Next, it expanded various forms of strikes and protest movements and stepped up street demonstrations and gatherings. Under its influence, university students went on student strikes and the rural Solidarity refused to pay taxes or sell farm produce and animal products to the government. Early in December 1981, in meetings held on various occasions, the Solidarity Trade Union decided to take major escalatory steps throughout the country: officially refuse to take part in the national consultative front repeatedly advocated by Jaruzelski; propose that a referendum be held immediately throughout the country in order to determine the political future of the country; set up a "provisional government," and if the authorities refused to do so, the Solidarity Trade Union would unilaterally hold a referendum on 15 January 1982.

Unbridled strike movements resulted in social unrest, lax labor discipline and work stoppage. The Polish economy, rotten a long time ago, was on the brink of collapse. Industrial production dropped by a great margin and market supplies were more deficient with each passing day. Some people said that Poland faced the worst economic difficulties in 150 years.

Confronted with the aggressive posture of the Solidarity Trade Union, the Polish authorities, having less room for maneuver, adopted a tougher attitude. At the Fourth Plenary Session of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee held in October 1981, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania, who assumed a moderate attitude, was replaced by Defense Minister Jaruzelski. Before long, the government dispatched special groups made up of military personnel to maintain order in villages and towns throughout the country. It determined that social consultation should be carried out on the basis of three basic principles, namely, "adhere to the leadership of the PZPR, to the socialist society and to the alliance with the Soviet Union." In December 1981, the Polish National Assembly began discussing the question of prohibiting strikes. The Solidarity Trade Union indicated that if the National Assembly approved the bill on prohibiting strikes, it would launch a general strike throughout the country. It was in this "showdown" situation that the Polish authorities declared a state of martial law throughout the country on the early morning of 13 December. From then on, the Solidarity Trade Union went underground.

#### Decline

After the institution of martial law, the Solidarity Trade Union did not stop its resisting activities. Some leaders who had not been arrested, secretly organized an underground leading body and, through various channels such as foreign newspapers and periodicals, secret gatherings, underground radio stations and underground publications, called on the Polish workers to "fight for the lifting of martial law and the restoration of the Solidarity movement." However, following the changes in the situation, the influence and role of the Solidarity Trade Union gradually weakened. On 18 October 1982, the Polish National Assembly approved a trade union law concentrating on the reestablishment of trade unions. This, in fact, declared the "non-existence" of the Solidarity Trade Union.

What has accounted for the decline of the Solidarity Trade Union?

1. The Polish authorities took a tougher stand with each passing day. After exercising military control, the government constantly hit at and weakened the Solidarity Trade Union politically, ideologically and organizationally. It successively cracked down on the demonstrations initiated by the Solidarity Trade Union and arrested its advisers, including Jacek Kuron and (Mi He Wa Ke) [4717 6378 3907 0344]. It also cracked the underground organizations in Warsaw and other areas, raided secret publishing centers, confiscated printing equipment and propaganda materials and uncovered an underground radio station.

The stern measures of the authorities left the Solidarity Trade Union less room for maneuver. In November last year, the government set free Lech Walesa and some other internees. They were relatively careful in their words and deeds.

2. People wanted stability. The masses of people were more and more tired of the incessant strikes and turmoil and gradually took a skeptical attitude toward and were disappointed about the Solidarity Trade Union.

The leaders of the trade union were only keen at creating disturbances. They were not concerned about production, with the result that both society and the economy were seriously disrupted. This occasioned increasing dissatisfaction on the part of the masses of people. Whenever the government and the Solidarity Trade Union cancelled, through negotiations, a plan for a national strike, there were a great many people who were moved to tears, rejoicing that the motherland had averted another disaster. After the establishment of military control, the appeal of the Solidarity Trade Union dropped further. The number of people taking part in strikes and demonstrations dropped by a great margin. Even Walesa had to admit that the Solidarity Trade Union had become a "weak giant."

Another fact was that the Solidarity Trade Union was not united. There were three advisory bodies in the headquarters of the Solidarity Trade Union. One was formed by some Catholic cardinals, another by members of the Catholic intellectual club and well-known personages in society and the third by dissidents headed by Jacek Kuron. Due to the fact that the good and the bad were intermingled in the advisory bodies, the leading circles of the Solidarity Trade Union also had serious differences of opinion with respect to the policy against the authorities. One faction advocated that the Solidarity Trade Union should prudently and tactfully exercise the right of going on strike and that steps should be taken "gradually." They were opposed to publicly raising the banners of "seizing power" and "setting up a political party" at present. Another faction advocated that they should "constantly attack the authorities without making any compromises." They wanted to publicly call for a change in the present political system, "set up a democratic government," "renounce the role of the party" and "institute a multiparty system." Sometimes, the differences and contradictions between the two factions reached a very acute degree. According to an eyewitness at the headquarters of the Solidarity Trade Union, many

articles similar to big-character posters were posted in the corridors and offices and even on the doors of the office building of the Solidarity Trade Union. Many of the articles dealt with disputes between factions, with one faction questioning and attacking another. At the very start, there were differences in political views among the leading circles of the Solidarity Trade Union. This developed into a scramble for power and profit and efforts to put down each other, thus speeding up the disintegration of this organization.

Soviet pressure and Western interference also played a part in weakening the Solidarity Trade Union. Soviet mass media attacked the Solidarity Trade Union, saying that the emergence of the Solidarity Trade Union was "a plot by the counterrevolutionary forces at home and abroad" which posed "a major danger to Poland." Through letters written on two different occasions and visits by Soviet leaders, the CPSU Central Committee criticized the PZPR for being "weak" toward the Solidarity Trade Union and demanded that the PZPR "mobilize all healthy forces to struggle against the counterrevolutionary forces." It also threatened that the Polish crisis had endangered "the interests of the great family" and that the Soviet Union "could not remain indifferent." Militarily, the Soviet Union assumed the posture of going in for an intervention by massing a large number of troops on the Soviet-Polish border and by conducting military exercises on many occasions in Polish territory and in the land and sea areas adjacent to that country. According to a report from the BBC, at a meeting with Polish leaders on 10 December 1981, Anatoly Gribkov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact troops, "issued an ultimatum" by saying: "If you don't take action, we shall." Under these circumstances, the Polish authorities rushed to take the step of instituting martial law throughout the country on 13 December.

The United States and other Western countries, however, flaunted the banner of "human rights" and "freedom." They expressed full support for the Solidarity Trade Union by giving moral and material support. At the same time, they applied economic sanctions against the Polish Government in an effort to force it to lift martial law and restore the dialogue and consultations with the Solidarity Trade Union. The aim of the United States was to make use of the Solidarity Trade Union as a "wooden Trojan horse" in the heartland of Eastern Europe and thus fulfill the plan for effecting "peaceful evolution" in Poland politically, economically, culturally and religiously, which the West had painstakingly formulated for a long time. The flagrant intervention by the United States inevitably aroused the suspicion of the Soviet Union and Poland and forced them to take a tougher stand against the Solidarity Trade Union.

After 1 year of effort by the Polish Government and following the decline of the Solidarity Trade Union, the turbulent situation in Poland has eased to a certain extent and the economic situation has taken a turn for the better. The Polish Government has basically had the situation under control. Therefore, in accordance with the decision of the Council of State, Poland suspended on 31 December 1982 the martial law which lasted 1 year and 18 days. However, the various social contradictions are far from being completely solved. Although the authorities announced the abolishment of the



Solidarity Trade Union, Walesa proclaimed that the Solidarity Trade Union "still exists" and will "continue to struggle" for the "realization of its aim." The economic problem is the key issue in the Polish crisis. If the economic situation fails to take a fundamental turn for the better, new social unrest may happen at any time. The political and economic situation in Poland in 1983 will still be a difficult one.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' VIEWS 'TURBULENT' CENTRAL AMERICA

HK210904 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Apr 83 p 7

["News analysis" by Zhu Manting [2612 3341 1656]: "The Rapid Turbulence of the Central American Situation"]

[Text] The situation in Central America, which has always been turbulent, has recently deteriorated still further due to large-scale incursions of antigovernment armed forces in Nicaragua. Much of international opinion holds that this incursion obviously has a foreign background.

After the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua in 1979, over 10,000 remnant supporters of Somoza, including some of the notorious National Guard, fled into the Honduran border. There are also a number of Mesquito Indians who are at loggerheads with the government. The so-called "Nicaraguan Democratic Force," an antigovernment organization, is mainly composed of these two elements. According to the NEW YORK TIMES, in April last year President Reagan called a meeting of senior officials, at which it was decided to launch "covert" activities aimed mainly at Nicaragua. NEWSWEEK further revealed last year that, in order to implement this action plan, the United States had decided to look for a person who was unconnected with the Somoza regime and who also opposed the Sandinist National Liberation Front government, to lead the movement. But the most suitable people, such as the former Sandinist leader Pastora, known as "Commander Zero," refused to cooperate. The U.S. ambassador in Honduras, John Negroponte, who was responsible for this mission, then got in collusion with Somoza remnant forces. According to reports, the United States has already spent \$300 billion on this effort. After this large-scale incursion into Nicaragua occurred, TIME magazine explicitly pointed out that the command system of the so-called "Nicaraguan Democratic Force," that is, the "brains" of the organization, was a military general staff "composed of CIA experts and representatives of the U.S. Army Southern Command based in Panama." It is precisely under U.S. manipulation and support that, beginning last year, Nicaraguan antigovernment armed elements have continually carried out harrassing activities, with the result that there have been constant clashes in the Nicaraguan-Honduran border region, where the situation is extremely tense. And the incursions which began in March this year have been the largest yet. At present, the Nicaraguan Government is organizing the army and people of the whole country to resist

the incursions. At the same time, international opinion has strongly condemned the United States for waging an "undeclared war" on Nicaragua.

It should be pointed out that U.S. intervention in Nicaragua is a component part of its Central America policy. Central America has long been in turmoil. As its geographical position is very important, the Panama Canal, the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico are communications channels of strategic importance, and as two-thirds of U.S. oil and a considerable proportion of its foreign trade volume passes through them, the United States attaches very great importance to this region, with its major political and military interests. However the 1979 revolution in Nicaragua, which overthrew the Somoza dictatorship, changed the homogeneous political pattern of the Central American states. In particular, after Nicaragua and Cuba joined hands, the two superpowers intensified their rivalry in the region. This is the fundamental cause of the endless conflicts in Central America. Since national democratic movements have continually surged up in certain Central American states, especially in El Salvador, where civil war is being ceaselessly waged, the U.S. authorities have felt all the more unhappy over the situation and profoundly fear chain reactions. The Reagan administration has attempted to bring the Central American problem onto the track of the U.S.-Soviet conflict and has also regarded El Salvador as a "key point" in consolidating America's "backyard," to halt Soviet expansion in Central America. The Reagan administration also holds that the Soviet Union and Cuba are supplying arms to the guerrillas in El Salvador through Nicaragua. Hence, beginning last year the Reagan administration cut off aid to Nicaragua and has constantly put pressure on that country. And one of the aims of the secret U.S. activities in Honduras is to cut the arms supply line for the Salvadoran guerrillas. On the Salvadoran battle-grounds, however, far from being suppressed, the guerrillas have actually gained a certain degree of superiority. Internationally, many countries, including France and Mexico, recognize the Salvadoran guerrillas as a representative force. This brings ever greater pressure to bear on the Reagan administration's stand of stubbornly refusing to hold talks with the Salvadoran guerrillas. It is under such circumstances that the United States has schemed the large-scale incursion of antigovernment elements into Nicaragua.

However, this U.S. policy of intervening in Central America has encountered strong opposition at home and abroad. The countries of the Third World, especially in Latin America, strongly oppose bringing the Central America problem within the scope of the U.S.-Soviet conflict. They oppose super-power intervention and interference in this region and propose that the Central America problem be solved by the Central American people themselves without interference from outside, and that the sovereignty of the Central American states, including Nicaragua, be respected. The American domestic voice of opposition to Reagan's Central America policies is growing louder and louder, and certain government officials and congressmen have even queried the "legality" of U.S. secret operations in Central America. Many people are worried that U.S. actions in Central America will fall into another "Vietnam war" quagmire.

The times are changing. The ability of the superpowers to influence international events is declining all the time. There will be no good result for anyone who wants to push hegemonism in the world today, no matter whether he uses open or secret methods. Countless facts have testified to this.

CSO: 4005/749

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PRESENT WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION DISCUSSED

HK190320 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Apr 83 p 7

["Special commentary" by Qu Shizhu [2575 4258 4554]: "The Present World Economic Situation and the Trend of Its Development"--abridged from April 1983 issue of SHIJIE JINGJI]

[Text] The Present World Economic Situation

The most serious economic crisis in the capitalist world since World War II, a crisis which has been going on for 3 years, is gradually coming to an end. Industrial production in some countries has gone up again. However, the present crisis, which has affected world economic development, will not disappear for the time being.

The present chronic crisis of overproduction took place simultaneously in the advanced capitalist countries. The crisis, which has been combined with long-term economic contradictions, has been extremely aggravated. It has dragged on for a long period of time, during which industrial production decreased twice in the main capitalist countries. It has set new records in the number and rate of unemployment, in the number of enterprises which were closed as well as in the instability level of stock and financial markets. In particular the number of workers who have lost their jobs has increased dramatically. This has become one of the outstanding economic problems in the capitalist countries.

International trade decreased because of economic crisis. In 1981, world export value and volume dropped by [figure illegible] percent and 0.8 percent respectively. It was the first time in the postwar period that export value and export volume came down simultaneously. In 1982, world export trade volume further went down by 4.1 percent. International trade failed to increase for 3 successive years. Commodity prices dropped in the world market. Prices of primary products dropped to a great extent. Industrial finished products, which scarcely dropped in various economic crises since World War II, came down by 6 percent during the present crisis. In the world market, competition is sharpening and protectionism is maintained everywhere. This has become one of the factors hampering economic revival and development in various countries.

A certain change in the political situation has taken place in the main capitalist countries because of serious economic crisis. During the crisis, changes of governments took place in the United States, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan, followed by the adjustment of economic policy.

Affected by economic crisis, various developing countries have been facing great economic difficulty. To escape economic difficulty, the advanced capitalist countries strive to shift the economic crisis onto the developing countries. The situation of export trade of developing countries has deteriorated because the price of primary products has dropped to a great extent. In 1982, the international trade deficits of non-oil-producing developing countries totaled over \$100 billion. The economic situation in some oil-producing countries has deteriorated because of the oil price drop in recent years. The developing countries have increased their foreign debts dramatically, to \$626 billion, of which countries in Latin America account for 50 percent. In 1982, the developing countries paid \$131 billion in principal and interest, making up 20 percent of their export income and exceeding the total amount of new loans which could be obtained.

The Soviet Union and some countries in Eastern Europe have been facing great economic difficulties. In recent years, the economic growth level in these countries has dropped to a great extent compared with the 1950's and 1960's. It has also dropped below the level to which it had already fallen in the second half of the 1970's.

#### Present Trend of the World Economic Situation

In the main capitalist countries, the U.S. economy, which has great influence over the world economy, has revived earlier. Since the end of last year, industrial production in the United States has gone up again. In the first quarter of this year, total GNP increased by 4 percent on the estimated annual rate basis. Sales volume of various commodities has increased and goods in stock have been decreased. The number of new orders for goods has increased and the utilization of enterprise capacity has been enhanced. This shows that the industrial production revival will go on. Naturally, the possibility that industrial production will meet with another setback in the economic revival cannot be ruled out. Under the influence of the U.S. economic revival, the economic situation in all Western countries will gradually take a favorable turn.

At present, there are some favorable factors which help the U.S. economy to revive: 1) Inflation has been mitigated to a certain extent because of the implementation of the squeeze policy. This will help to increase investment and consumption and leave some margin for the government to implement an expansion policy for stimulating economic development. 2) Interest rates have dropped to a certain extent. This will help boost production, consumption and credit. 3) The oil price is going down. This will play a certain role in reducing production cost and interest rates and lowering the growth rate of prices, thereby helping the economy to pick up.

However, the U.S. economy is facing various unfavorable factors. The huge financial deficit and the great number of unemployed constitute the two most difficult problems to be dealt with. The financial deficit of the U.S. Federal Government exceeded \$200 billion this year. To make up the deficit, the U.S. Federal Government has increasingly issued bonds, which are expected to account for more than 50 percent of the credit funds on market. It is difficult to lower interest rates as loan capital is in short supply. A huge financial deficit will aggravate the inflation. This will not help enterprises increase their investments. It is difficult to increase employment and to lower the rate of unemployment to a great extent unless enterprises can increase investments. Moreover, the serious agricultural crisis and the difficulty export trade is facing will also suppress economic growth. It is impossible for the United States to revive its economy promptly and effectively because of the unfavorable factors.

It is possible for Japan to maintain its economic growth at low speed. Japan largely depends on the export of commodities and the import of energy. Its superiority in exports and the drop of the oil price will help Japan revive and develop its economy. The adjustment of the economic system in Japan has brought progress more rapidly than in other countries. This is one of the favorable factors helping Japan's economy adapt to the change in the world economy.

However, under the increasingly intensified situation of trade protectionism, it is difficult for Japan to increase its economic growth at high speed because Japan largely depends on the international market.

There are great differences in the economic situation in Western Europe. Generally speaking, the rate of economic growth in these countries in the near future will be lower than that in the United States and Japan. Public opinion in Western countries holds that in 1983 economic growth in most Western countries will be zero or below. Countries in Western Europe are facing great financial difficulty. Expenditures on social welfare account for a greater proportion than in the United States and Japan. Moreover, unemployment is more serious in Western European countries. It is more difficult for these countries to make changes by using the financial strength to counter the economic crisis. They are more dependent on foreign trade than are the United States and Japan. The export trade of the United States and Japan is more competitive than that of Western European countries. Therefore, economic recovery in Western Europe will be delayed and slow.

The economies in the developing countries, for a certain period of time in the future, will grow at a lower speed than now. Their economies have greatly suffered from the drop in prices of primary products and trade protectionism.

The economy in the Soviet Union and other countries in Eastern Europe will grow at low speed in the near future. They are facing economic problems different from the Western and developing countries. These problems also cannot be resolved in the near future. The Soviet Union will largely depend

on the exploitation of natural resources in border regions in the eastern part of the country, following the increasing shortage of natural resources in the western area. It is impossible for the Soviet Union to promptly reduce its production cost, which has increased, and to overcome the labor shortage. The reform of the economic management system in the Soviet Union has had very little effect, and things cannot be improved rapidly in the future. A great amount of manpower, material and financial resources have been consumed because of its foreign expansion. This cannot help the Soviet Union speed up its economic development in the near future.

#### Prospects for the World Economic Situation

For the next 10 or 20 years the economy in the main capitalist countries will be mainly noted for its halting growth at low speed. It is hard for these countries to escape from the situation of stagnancy and inflation. A more serious economic and financial crisis will possibly take place in these countries.

The 1970's were the turning point in the economic development of the capitalist countries. The rapid economic growth in the postwar period has come to an end since then.

To sum up, in the 1980's and 1990's, it is impossible for the world economy to develop at high speed. Uneven economic development is to be seen in different countries. A further change will take place in the balance of world economic forces. This will inevitably affect the world political situation. Some people in the United States have predicted that in the 1980's and 1990's, the superpowers will further go downhill and their strength will be disintegrated and transferred to the newly emerging big nations in other areas. China and the European Economic Community will exert an increasing influence. Traditional alliances will tend to disintegrate and a newly emerging force center established. The economic ties between Eastern and Western Europe will be strengthened. The conflict between the South and the North will be intensified. Although this prediction may not necessarily turn out this way, it shows from other aspects that the next 20 years will be an eventful period in the international field.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON U.S. HIGH TECHNOLOGY INDUSTRY

HK180743 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Chu Yujun [0328 3768 0981]: "Can High-Technology Industry Pull the United States Out of Economic Difficulties?"]

[Text] In his 1983 state of the union message, President Reagan pointed out that "the United States has opened up the realm of high technology and is still in the leading position in this field," but he added that "while making conquests in this realm, we should not blot out our traditional industry, but insist on developing those technologies and industries which will make us path-openers of the future."

These few words may be abstract, but they have outlined a general picture of the present situation of the adjustment in the U.S. industrial structure, that is, the adjustment of U.S. industrial structure will hardly be completed in the 1980's, and the much publicized "era of high technology" is as yet distant and vague. High-technology industry refers to such industries as semiconductors, electronic computers, robotics, space flight technology, genetic engineering and electronic communications.

The present state of the U.S. economy is actually like this: traditional industrial production is shrinking and beset in helpless difficulties. And this situation is not likely to change for the better.

The rise of high-technology industry has bewildered some Americans and caused illusions. Some U.S. senators are even advocating the speed-up of high-technology industry as a way out of the U.S. economic crisis. But will the rise of high-technology industry bring the U.S. economy out of its difficulties? Will it help solve the unemployment problem? Most of the American people are taking a suspicious attitude. Mr Howard Samuel, chairman of AFL-CIO, said: "Those who want us to concentrate our efforts on developing high technology with a view to solving the unemployment problem are actually wasting our energy." Samuel's opinion is not without reasons.

First, high-technology industry accounts for a very small proportion in the U.S. economy; it ranks ninth among the big industries. Although at present, the iron and steel industry, the automobile industry and the construction

industry (the three mainstays of the U.S. economy in the past) are suffering from depression, their total value of output and number of workers employed still far surpass high-technology industry in absolute numbers. Take the construction industry for instance; the number of residential houses under construction fell under 1 million last year, half the number of 1978, but spending in the construction industry still covered 9 to 10.5 percent of the national economy. The number of employed was about half a million; together with the people employed in related trades, the number employed reached a total of 3.5 million. Therefore, it is obvious that high-technology industry alone will not help the United States' economic crisis. Besides, high-technology industry has a high degree of automation, electronization and robotization; it sets high requirements on the part of the workers, and a comparatively small number of workers are needed. So high-technology industry can by no means absorb the current vast army of 12 million unemployed.

Second, although the United States still leads in the realm of high-technology industry, it is more and more facing the serious challenging threats from Western Europe and Japan, especially in the electronics industry, where the competition of Japan is most fierce. American products are not so competitive as those produced in Japan and West Germany in the world market, and not even in its own home market.

Third, any technology (including high technology), from a microcosmic view, belongs to an enterprise, and has a commercial quality, and from a macrocosmic view, it is circulated throughout the world. Especially today, when the interrelationships between countries are getting more and more close, there is no way to stop the transfer of technology. It seems impossible for the United States to maintain its leadership and monopoly in the realm of new high technology.

Besides, the present taxation system, trade policy and educational system in the United States cannot adapt to the development of high technology, and thorough reform will be needed. But reform will take time and effective results will not come in a short period of time. So, taking a look at the actual situation in the United States, we find that high-technology industry there is still at its budding stage, and it is estimated that the growth and development of its high-technology industry is not likely to be realized in the 1980's. However, the adjustment of American industrial structure and the transition from traditional industry to high-technology industry have yielded some fruitful results and it has already been shown that this transition is now becoming an irresistible trend, independent of man's will. Therefore, the development of American high-technology industry is still worth attention.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. PHOTOGRAPHER'S BEIJING EXHIBITION VIEWED

HK151031 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Zhu Jiashi [2612 1367 1395]: "American Photographer Adams' Photographic Art"]

[Text] The lush flowers of Beijing are bright and beautiful as a brocade in springtime. In the China Art Gallery, an exhibition of "Works of American Photographer Ansel Adams" is on display. The 125 pictures, like a symphonic poem in praise of nature, stir one's emotions and intoxicate one's mind.

The 81-year-old Ansel Adams is one of the most famous photographers of the contemporary world. He became active in photography at the age of 14. After working for nearly 70 years in the field of photography, he has developed a unique artistic style of his own. He holds that photography should not be merely an objective record, but should be a work of art and a reproduction of the scenery of nature by artistic means. His development of the zone system of exposure and his black-and-white photography have been universally acknowledged first-rate treasures of art. All of his work has a high degree of clarity and fineness, rich definitions and exquisite tones. Some of the works, which show the feeling of rhythm and charm of a certain kind of music, are of a strong artistic infectiousness and leave a lasting impression on the viewers.

The landscape photographs of Adams are profoundly meaningful, exquisite and moving. When he took the picture "Tenaya [3676 4780 0068] River, Dogwood and Rain" in the Yosemite State Park of California in 1948, he drew on the technique of Western painting and used soft light and grey tones to portray the drizzling misty scenery of the Tenaya basin: the dense forest, a clear bubbling stream and dogwood blossoms like clusters of stars show the poetic concept of seclusion, elegance, peace and tranquility and seem to give the people the feeling they are personally on the scene. The photographs "White Poplars, Dawn and Autumn" and "Dawn of the Aspen" use soft sidelight to outline the elegant and slender white poplars. The modeling is so delicate and lovely that it seems to show a line of slim and graceful young girls standing by the roadside. The skillful use of filter has heightened the atmosphere of the picture. How we would like to touch these lovely little trees.

Many of Adams' landscape photographs show such subjects as strange rugged rocks, craggy towering precipices, ancient trees and dense woods and mountain valleys and rivers. The "Moon and the Semicrescent Hill," one of the works most admired by the American people, shows a moon shining on the ridges and peaks of a mountain. The fine fissures on the surface of the cliff set off the beauty of the rocky cliff and the dark foreground heightens the atmosphere of the moonlit night. The size of the mountain in relation to the moon, the highlight, precipices and shadows, and the striking portrayal of the moon seem to draw people into the poetic realm of the moonlit night.

Adams is extremely fond of China and has a deep love for its ancient culture. In his home he keeps a Chinese drum about 3 to 4 feet in diameter with two dragons painted on it between the dining room and parlor. When the Chinese photographers paid him a visit, he zestfully took out the drumsticks and beat on his drum to express his welcome. He has been unable to come to China for this exhibition because of his health, but he has sent his representative to introduce his scores of years of experience in photography to the photographers in China. He has also personally made a long-distance telephone call from San Francisco to ask about the exhibition and to extend cordial regards and friendly greeting to his Chinese friends.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BA YI DENOUNCES U.S. ANTI-CHINESE POLICY

OW080632 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 5 Apr 83

[Text] A recent speech by U.S. President Reagan to university students represents another proof of U.S. imperialists' interference in our internal affairs and defilement of our national dignity. U.S. imperialist chieftains have more than once stated that the United States has the right to treat Taiwan as an independent nation and, using this excuse, have torn up the agreements signed between China and the United States.

These brazen anti-Chinese acts of the U.S. imperialists cannot but arouse the indignation of the people. However, XINHUA NEWS AGENCY and other central organs and publications, taking their cue from above, only lightly and casually criticized Reagan's speech as being self-contradictory, saying his statement ran counter to the promises made by the U.S. Government that it will respect our nation's sovereignty and will not interfere in our internal affairs.

In major issues of principle like this one, our country should have taken a firm stand from the start. Why should we have tolerated again and again the wanton insults of U.S. imperialist chieftains? The reason Reagan openly declared that the United States will never abandon its old friend and ally, Taiwan, not even at the expense of its friendship with the PRC, and put our government on a par with the Taiwanese Government is, to put it bluntly, that he wants to blackmail our country and force us to submit ourselves to their overbearing acts and make concessions on the issue of our sovereignty over Taiwan.

What is puzzling is why some leaders of the central authorities continue to tolerate such brazen anti-Chinese acts? A most typical case in point is that, on the same day Reagan made the arrogant anti-Chinese statement, leaders of our country went so far as to solemnly and warmly receive the delegation of the U.S. House of Representatives in the Great Hall of the People and discussed at great length the bright prospects for the development of Sino-U.S. relations. At the meeting, they only touched lightly on the difficulties and obstructions that still exist in the development of bilateral relations. However, they did not say a single word about the gross interference in our internal affairs by the United States and the unscrupulous anti-Chinese words and deeds of Reagan and other chieftains

of the U.S. Government. Someone even said that it is hoped that the United States will abide by the Sino-U.S. joint communique of 17 August 1982. However, they failed to mention any of the acts of President Reagan which constitute gross violation of all the communiques and agreements signed by China and the United States. We cannot but ask leaders of the central authorities when we will appropriately retaliate for the crude anti-Chinese acts of the U.S. imperialist chieftains.

The history of aggression against China by U.S. imperialists in the past 140 years shows us that only by waging a tit-for-tat struggle can we smash the anti-Chinese scheme of the U.S. imperialists, who are the deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BA YI : CERTAIN PRC LEADERS HARBOR ILLUSIONS ABOUT U.S. FRIENDSHIP

OW180232 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Text] Even after swallowing one insult after the other in their dealings with U.S. imperialism, certain of our central leaders still harbor illusions about U.S. friendship. Because of their own seriously wrong ideological and political concepts, these leaders have abandoned their class stand and have gained a wrong impression of the world's number one imperialism--U.S. imperialism. They have paid no heed to the fundamental difference between the Chinese and U.S. socialist and political systems.

For instance, while receiving a U.S. congressional delegation not long ago, a certain central leader remarked: "We NPC deputies are elected by the Chinese people and you congressmen are elected by the American people. We both hold the power to eliminate all obstacles on the road to developing friendship between our two countries." In fact, this statement places China's NPC deputies and the U.S. congressmen on an equal footing. However, the fact is that even a primary school pupil knows that the overwhelming majority of U.S. congressmen are thoroughgoing imperialists and capitalists and that the remainder of them are either agents or faithful lackeys of imperialists and capitalists. How can anyone say that U.S. congressmen are elected by the American people? It would be sheer day-dreaming to hope that U.S. congressmen could compel the chieftain of U.S. imperialism to put an end to his anti-China policy.

For instance, immediately after his return to the United States, O'Neill, head of the U.S. congressional delegation, arrogantly announced that at present the United States cannot change its relations with Taiwan.

Another serious mistake of certain of our central leaders is their total ignorance of the many profound contradictions between China and the United States. They are fond of saying that these contradictions are merely a trifling misunderstanding or negligible resistance. They have maintained that the only serious contradiction is the Taiwan question, or more precisely, the selling of U.S. arms to Taiwan. They have even said: As soon as the United States stops supplying arms to the KMT, Sino-U.S. cooperation will immediately flourish and a genuine spring will come to Sino-American friendship.

This is an extremely erroneous view. From the viewpoint of class stand, it is obvious that the primary contradiction between China and the United States is in their different social systems. China is a developing socialist nation with a Communist Party at the helm of state, while the United States is the world's number one imperialist nation with the most arrogant and conceited among imperialists and capitalists at the helm of state. The ultimate target of U.S. imperialists' global strategy is opposition to all socialist nations, developing nations and all communist parties, including ours. It was also the incumbent U.S. President Reagan that formally announced that his goal of struggle is the total elimination of communism.

Therefore, because of the erroneous concept about the United States among certain of our leaders, they have made serious, unwise moves in China's foreign policy. These mistakes will certainly bring still more serious harm to our country.

CSO: 4005/749



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' FAVORABLY REVIEWS U.S. BOOK ON PRC

HK181142 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 83 p 7

[Article by Qiu Qisheng [6726 0366 3932]: "Historical Lesson From an 'Unfortunate Policy'--Introducing 'American Crusade in China'"]

[Text] "American Crusade in China (1938-1945)," written by American China specialist (Michael Sheller) [6701 0344 1422 3097 0519] in 1979, was recently translated into Chinese and published by the Commercial Press. Objective, complete and accurate, this book has succeeded in depicting, in a certain perspective, the formulation and implementation of U.S. policy toward China in that period. In writing this book, the author made a new study of the historical lesson drawn from the U.S. policy toward China during the period from 1938 to 1945 after reading and analyzing a great number of new original materials. Feeling sorry for the U.S. policymakers of that time, the author criticized them from the standpoint of U.S. interests. According to him, these policymakers, failing to have an in-depth understanding of Chinese affairs, "had not only formulated an unfortunate policy, but had also stuck themselves, for 8 years from 1938 to 1945, in a dilemma derived from this policy." He pointed out that although the civil war in China only broke out in 1946 and came to an end in 1949, the conventions laid down by the United States during World War II constituted a framework for the U.S. policy, which prevented the country from taking a correct attitude toward the victory of the Chinese people and the revolutionary and nationalist movement rising afterward in Asia and thus pushed it to indulge in the vain hope of "dominating change in China and Asia."

As told by the author, before the winter of 1937, the United States "was only concerned about how to protect the personal safety and the commercial interests of U.S. citizens," while turning a blind eye to the Japanese encroachment of China. At that time, "President Roosevelt attached priority to a diplomatic policy which aimed at avoiding conflict with Japan and minimizing danger which would lead to antagonism." In late 1938, the United States decided to adopt a new policy toward China. "The foundation of this new policy was to safeguard a pro-American KMT government which might possibly become an anti-Japanese stronghold." The reason why the United States supported China in its resistance against Japan was because "the policy which Japan was enforcing in China" constituted a menace to the

security of the United States. "Allowing Japan to conquer China meant giving up the (U.S.) domination over the Asian continent and the Pacific Ocean." Even after the United States began to notice the existence of two antagonistic political powers in China when carrying out its policy of supporting the Chiang regime in resisting Japan, the KMT regime remained the favorite with the United States. Roosevelt believed that "Chiang Kai-shek and his regime were the only force to carry out the reform in China." So, the U.S. Government tried by every means to reinforce Chiang Kai-shek's use of the U.S. support as his capital to provoke the civil war to wipe out the Chinese communists. The U.S. policy at this stage began from economic aid, continued with political support and finally developed into overall military support for Chiang Kai-shek. In the meantime, the U.S. Government tried to keep Chiang Kai-shek under its control, restricting him from launching an overall civil war, since it held that a civil war would only benefit Japan.

By the summer of 1945, when the defeat of Japan became a certainty, the Truman administration intensified its policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek and opposing the communists. The then-U.S. commander of the Chinese war zone, Wedemeyer, set about formulating a plan for providing the KMT with all possible logistic support and helping it to reoccupy territories. After Japan announced its surrender on 15 August, Truman, in his first general order, appointed Chiang Kai-shek as the only person in China who enjoyed the power of accepting the surrender of Japan. The continuous U.S. aid to Chiang Kai-shek led to the third civil war in China.

It should be noted that the book also mentions another situation. The author holds that those who profoundly understood China's affairs were not those who formulated U.S. policy but those officials who had extensive contacts with various social strata and political groups in China and who held a liberal viewpoint. They included Gen Joseph Stilwell, who was once commander of the Sino-Burmese-Indian war zone and Chiang Kai-shek's "chief of staff," as well as Davis and (Xie Wei Si) [6200 0251 1835], two able diplomats who later also suffered bitter persecution. Together with some U.S. personnel working in China, they painstakingly provided the U.S. policymakers with relatively substantial data on China's state of affairs in an effort to urge the U.S. Government to adopt a sensible policy. However, their proposals, plans and advice were rejected by those policymakers in the United States. The question which the Washington authorities almost wholeheartedly took into consideration was how to support the KMT in order to weaken and wipe out the Communist Party. Finally the author pointed out that after the founding of the PRC in 1949, the policymakers in the United States could not correctly draw proper lessons from the failure of the "unfortunate policy" and this led to greater misfortune.

Although the author related past events of over four decades ago, the book, which was written on good ground, can help people review a section of history which was notorious to the United States. Reading this historical record is obviously beneficial to the U.S. policymakers; it also serves as a sort of enlightenment to the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/749

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BA YI URGES VIGILANCE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISTS

OW160323 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 14 Apr 83

[Text] In his report presented at the 12th National CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang praised the People's Liberation Army for serving as a great steel wall safeguarding the socialist motherland. While there is no doubt that our army is always ready to defend the motherland with resolve, we must particularly point out that thanks to the party's instructions, the broad masses of our army's commanders and fighters have harbored inveterate hatred toward the U.S. imperialists, who are the Chinese people's most ferocious enemy, and are imbued with the spirit of launching uncompromising struggle against them.

During the historic Eighth National CPC Congress, Comrade Peng Dehuai said: The U.S. aggressive clique has still not given up its military aggressive scheme and is still stubbornly pushing a hostile policy toward the Chinese people. It is occupying our country's territory, Taiwan, and has established military aggressive alliances and military bases around our country. For this reason, it is our army's principal task to be prepared against the U.S. imperialists' aggression and to defend our national security.

Zhu De, Chen Yi, He Long, Ye Jianying, Liu Bocheng, Nie Rongzhen, Huang Kecheng and other principal leaders of our army also called on our army to heighten its vigilance against the U.S. imperialist gangsters.

What is particularly noteworthy is the fact that when the "gang of four" made the first step to befriend the United States, no one dared to go against this unprincipled capitulationist line except Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Gou Huizuo. In an open speech, for example, Comrade Huang Yongsheng firmly exposed the U.S. imperialist gangsters' anti-China behavior. He pointed out that the U.S. imperialists were playing all kinds of tricks and conspiracies and plotted the criminal policy of two Chinas, or one China, one Taiwan, and that the U.S. imperialists also stepped up collusion with the Japanese reactionaries and plotted the so-called Taiwanese independence. For this reason, Comrade Huang Yongsheng stressed that it was natural that there could not be a relaxation in Sino-American relations, that Taiwan must be liberated and that U.S. imperialists' continued occupation of Taiwan would be as stupid as lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet in the end.

Under the current circumstances, such indignant remarks by Comrade Huang Yongsheng still have not lost their realistic significance. Today, while continuing to conspire against China, the U.S. imperialists have insidiously disguised themselves as friends of China. For this reason, we must heighten our revolutionary vigilance against the U.S. imperialists--the Chinese people's deadly enemy.

Regrettably, however, certain leaders in our country still uphold the policy of leaguering up with the United States and accuse our army leaders, who are against this erroneous policy, of having been influenced by leftist ideas. Such an accusation is extremely wrong. The firm anti-imperialist stand of our army leaders, commanders and fighters is very correct. It is specifically for this reason that we must educate the younger generation of our army commanders and fighters so that they may have the revolutionary militant spirit of never compromising with the U.S. imperialists. Only by doing this can our army really become a great steel wall safeguarding our motherland.

CSO: 4005/749

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BA YI ON 'ABSURDITY' OF TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT

OW131223 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 9 Apr 83

[Text] Four years ago on 10 April 1979 then American President Carter signed the so-called Taiwan Relations Act. Four years later the U.S. imperialists are still using this act as the basis for conducting relations with the Taiwan authorities as if Taiwan were an independent country. In the eyes of U.S. imperialists, other countries should abide by American law as all states in the United States. Once again all of this shows that the United States has assumed a hegemonist attitude toward the people of other countries and that the U.S. imperialists have never fulfilled promises and obligations.

As is known to all, during the Sino-American talks on the establishment of diplomatic relations, the American side pledged to sever relations with the Kuomintang [KMT] authorities. The pledge was made to entice some leaders of our country who entertained hope for developing Sino-American friendship. The Americans signed the joint communique on the establishment of relations with our country, while secretly drafting the Taiwan Relations Act. Based on this absurd act, the United States extended the validity of some 60 agreements and treaties signed with the KMT authorities including the long-term agreements on American arms supplies to Taiwan, American use of naval, ground and air bases in Taiwan, and American assistance to Taiwan to renovate its military equipment. Moreover, diplomatic relations between the American Government and the KMT authorities in fact continue. Organizations which represent Taiwan in the United States still enjoy diplomatic privileges. In a nutshell, the so-called Taiwan Relations Act has enabled the United States to maintain former relations with the KMT authorities in defiance of the joint communique on the establishment of Sino-American relations. Such inconsistent and unabashed behavior is rarely seen in the history of international relations.

It should be especially pointed out that when the so-called Taiwan Relations Act was first made public, some leaders of our country, including PLA leaders, immediately suggested taking necessary action against the United States and sternly denounced the U.S. imperialists' anti-Chinese policy in an effort to force the American leaders to abrogate the hegemonist act. However, those who insisted on the pro-American policy disagreed with any countermeasures against the U.S. imperialists for fear of offending

the United States and impairing the so-called Sino-American friendship. In other words, they would rather swallow the bitter fruits of the U.S. imperialists.

Practice in the past 4 years proves that such a stand is entirely erroneous. After the U.S. imperialists realized that some of our leaders had in fact accepted the Taiwan Relations Act, Washington has become even more unrestrained in its policy toward China. Recent statements by Reagan, Shultz and Weinberger especially indicate that the U.S. imperialists will further intervene in our country's internal affairs under the pretext of the Taiwan Relations Act signed on 10 April 1979. Nevertheless, the situation cannot be tolerated forever. The U.S. imperialists' insult to our country and attempt to impose their law on our people can only incur the Chinese people's indignation. All PLA commanders and fighters will resolutely defend our great motherland's sacred sovereign right and safeguard the great Chinese people's national dignity.

CSO: 4005/749

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BA YI CALLS PRC PROTEST OVER HU NA CASE VERY CORRECT

OW131415 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 11 Apr 83

[Text] Our government was very correct in lodging a resolute protest over the U.S. granting of political asylum to our tennis player Hu Na. Our government's decision to suspend the implementation of the plan for cultural exchanges between the two countries was also completely reasonable. In short, we should have long launched the most vehement counterattacks on U.S. imperialists' anti-China acts which are becoming more and more unbridled. All PLA commanders and fighters, all comrades of our party and the broad masses of people have long known that we have repeatedly and rightly pointed out that the imperialists bully the weak and fear the strong. To deal with the U.S. imperialist chieftains' shameless anti-China acts, it is not enough just to verbally blame or politely accuse them. The only way to deal with the U.S. imperialists' hegemonistic acts of violating China's sovereignty and impairing our people's and national dignity is to wage a tit-for-tat struggle. This is exactly what our government did this time over the Hu Na case. However, we must consider that the Hu Na case was just a bar in the anti-China chorus sung by the present U.S. Government.

During present political, economic, financial and trade, scientific and technological and cultural exchanges between the two countries, the Americans always proceed from power, attempt to force us into submission and even force their will and law on us. No doubt, we should strike the most resolute counterblows at all the U.S. anti-China acts. We should never think that our strong reaction to the imperialists and hegemonists over the Hu Na case this time will make them change their mind and stop their anti-China acts, schemes and intrigues. From now on, we should resolutely strike counterblows at any U.S. anti-China acts, including the major ones, such as the Taiwan Relations Act issue, and the comparatively minor ones, such as the scheme to buy over our personnel overseas or to instigate them to defect. We should not compromise any more, and we should most resolutely defend our sovereignty and national dignity. From now on, we should not make any more concessions over the sovereignty issue or even sacrifice the dignity of our 1 billion army-men and people in the name of alliance with the United States, the so-called Sino-U.S. friendship and the notorious common strategic interests.

When Premier Zhao Ziyang recently met with a U.S. delegation, he solemnly pointed out: The Chinese people have struggled for 100 or 200 years and made great sacrifices for China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. China absolutely will not sacrifice the principle of defending its national dignity, independence and sovereignty merely for the purpose of developing its relations with a country.

We completely support this famous dictum of Comrade Zhao Ziyang.

CSO: 4005/749



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

U.S. PLANS RESEARCH ON 'SUPERCOMPUTERS'--Washington, April 1 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Defense Department is planning a major research project to create a new generation of "supercomputers" in an effort to overtake Japan in computer technology and to ensure U.S. dominance over the Soviet Union in defense technology, the "Washington Post" reported today. The new "supercomputers" would process information thousands of times faster than current computers and the problem-solving capabilities would be far superior than today's computer systems because of new "artificial intelligence" software, the report said. The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) will administer the project and is seeking 50 million dollars of research funds for fiscal year 1984. The project, called "strategic computing and survivability," will compete with Japan in creating a "fifth generation" computer and establish U.S. supremacy in computer technology in the 1990s. These "supercomputers" "have direct military applications," the report noted. It quoted DARPA Director and Assistant Secretary of Defense for Science and Technology Robert Cooper as saying that "this is an enabling technology that would make advanced anti-ballistic missile systems (as suggested by President Reagan last week) possible." [Text] [OWO20233 Beijing XINHUA in English 0154 GMT 2 Apr 83]

MUBARAK ARRIVES IN DPRK--Pyongyang, April 4 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak arrived here this morning on an official state visit to Korea at the invitation of Kim Il-song, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. President Kim Il-song and his wife were at the airport to greet the Egyptian president and his wife. A grand welcome ceremony was held at the airport and hundreds of thousands of citizens were on the streets to give the Egyptian guests a warm welcome. Mubarak was the second Egyptian president to visit the country since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1963. Mubarak is going to visit Japan and Indonesia after his visit to Korea. [Text] [OWO40918 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 4 Apr 83]

THAILAND ON PRC-SRV CLASHES--Bangkok, April 18 (XINHUA)--The Chinese artillery bombardments on the Vietnamese border area over recent days are justified in view of the "provocative and aggressive acts of Vietnam against China," a Thai Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday. The spokesman, in an interview with REUTER, said that Hanoi always behaved like a thug towards its neighbors. Thai newspapers carried commentaries today to accuse

Vietnam of making provocations against China and voicing support for its counterattack. The "Tong Hua Yid Pao" daily said in a commentary, "Should China tolerate continued Vietnamese provocations, the Hanoi authorities might miscalculate the situation and expand their aggression." The "Sing Sian Yit Pao" daily said in a commentary the Chinese frontier guards fired back at the Vietnamese troops only after they were driven beyond forbearance by Vietnamese provocations. The Chinese counter-attack, therefore, is absolutely necessary, the newspaper said. [Text] [OW182015 Beijing XINHUA in English 1553 GMT 18 Apr 83]

BANGLADESH ON KAMPUCHEA, AFGHANISTAN--Dhaka, April 18 (XINHUA)--Bangladesh chief martial law administrator Hussain Mohammad Ershad reaffirmed today that his country was firmly opposed to the continued presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea and Afghanistan as a violation of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states. Speaking at a banquet in honour of visiting Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed this evening, Ershad said a political solution could not be achieved without an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops and allowing the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan to decide their own destiny free from any external interference and intervention. "We appreciate the constructive role played by Malaysia and other ASEAN countries in the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea," he said. Bangladesh has not only wholeheartedly welcomed the establishment of the coalition government but also established diplomatic ties with it, he stated. Ershad said that Bangladesh has enjoyed close and friendly relations with all her neighbors and has been making unremitting efforts to create an atmosphere of goodwill, trust and mutual understanding in her own neighborhood. He said, "Our conscious plan and persistent endeavours for a structured multisectoral South Asian regional cooperation have produced most gratifying results so far." Ershad also said that in pursuance of the policy of advancing the cause of peace and security, Bangladesh had supported the UN resolution declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. [Text] [OW190158 Beijing XINHUA in English 0112 GMT 19 Apr 83]

EGYPT'S 'ALI ON KAMPUCHEA--Cairo, April 19 (XINHUA)--Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamal Hasan 'Ali today called for the withdrawal of foreign invasion forces from Kampuchea. The minister, in a statement today, expressed Egypt's concern over the "prospects of explosive developments in Southeast Asia as a result of the armed intervention in Kampuchea." The statement was issued one day after 'Ali met the ambassadors of the five members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations--Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia--who asked for Egyptian action against the current Vietnamese armed intervention in Kampuchea. The minister said that the situation in Southeast Asia "demands stoppage of the military actions which violate Thailand's freedom and territorial integrity as well as speedy withdrawal of the foreign invasion forces from Kampuchea." The Kampuchean people "should have a chance to exercise their right to self-determination without any foreign interference," he said. "The sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all the countries of the area should be respected," the minister said. [Text] [OW200426 Beijing XINHUA in English 0244 GMT 20 Apr 83]

DIALOGUE IN CENTRAL AMERICA--Mexico City, April 19 (XINHUA)--Mexico and the United States agreed today to promote processes of dialogue and negotiation in Central America to stave off an armed conflict there, said a joint communique issued here. The communique was issued at the end of two-day talks between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Mexican Foreign Secretary Bernardo Sepulveda on the situation in Central America. Shultz also met Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid. The communique announced that U.S. President Ronald Reagan will visit Mexico later this year. Sources from the press circle here noted that the two countries are known to differ with each other on the Central American issue. The communique had no reference either to the cause of the crisis in Central America or to specific ways to bring about peace to the region, they said. [Text] [OW201206 Beijing XINHUA in English 1159 GMT 20 Apr 83]

USSR EMBASSY IN MALAYSIA--Beijing, April 19 (XINHUA)--The United Malays National Organization (UMNO) youth movement today asked the government to cut down the number of the Soviet Embassy staff in Kuala Lumpur. The request was made in retaliation to the "arrogant attitude" displayed by the Soviet ambassador last week, according to reports from Kuala Lumpur today. Leader of the movement Anwar Ibrahim told a press conference that Soviet Ambassador B.T. Kulik refused to receive a protest note signed by about 3,000 members of the youth movement last week. The note protested against the recent statement made by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Kapitsa in Singapore that if the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) continued to support Democratic Kampuchea, Vietnam might provide assistance for insurgents in the region. Anwar, who is also a deputy minister in Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed's department, said it is necessary to reduce the number of the Soviet Embassy staff in order to check possible Soviet intelligence activities in Malaysia as "blatant" espionage activities at Soviet embassies elsewhere have already been reported. A delegation from the Malaysian Youth Council was reported to have marched to the Soviet Embassy yesterday in protest against Soviet support for Vietnamese policies on Kampuchea. [Text] [OW200848 Beijing XINHUA in English 0834 GMT 20 Apr 83]

DPRK HITS 'TRIANGULAR ALLIANCE'--Pyongyang, April 21 (XINHUA)--The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) condemned in a memorandum today the efforts made by the United States, Japan and South Korea to form a military alliance. "The U.S. imperialists planned to accelerate the formation of a triangular military alliance not by simultaneously linking the three sides...but by concluding bilateral military treaties and linking the three sides in the future with the U.S. as an apex," the document said. The memorandum said that in case a war breaks out in Korea, Japan's role will be "an advance base, rear base, supply base, logistics base and relay base of the U.S. forces." The DPRK Government and the entire Korean people resolutely oppose and reject the scheme to form the triangular military alliance, it said. It is an urgent task of the times to check and thwart it, the memorandum stressed. [Text] [OW211640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1543 GMT 21 Apr 83]

FORMER PRC PILOT IN TAIWAN--Wu Ronggen, a former pilot of our country and now a major in the Taiwan Air Force, said, when accepting a Spring Festival cash gift from his godfather Jiang Zhongling, commander in chief of the Kuomintang Army, that he has been able to make it today, thanks to the help of American friends. [Text] [OW131257 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 9 Apr 83]

TAIWAN THANKS U.S. FOR AID--Recently, the representative of the Taiwan authorities in the United States once again expressed thanks for American economic and military assistance to Taiwan. He said: As always the United States is Taiwan's number one trading partner and arms supplier. The United States' annual trade with Taiwan has reached \$13 billion while arms sales have totaled \$1 billion. The Taiwan representative added that the United States has shown concern for Taiwan like a big brother. [Text] [OW131241 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 9 Apr 83]

PRC CANCELS BRITISH MISSILE CONTRACT--Recently the Chinese Government has cancelled a contract signed with a British munitions merchant to install 100 million pounds worth of control systems for the Sea Wolf guided missiles on nine of China's Luda-type destroyers. A naval leader pointed out that this cancellation is in accordance with the directive issued by the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee that China must not rely on the import of foreign military technology, weapons and equipment to realize the modernization of national defense. [Text] [OW130632 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 9 Apr 83]

CSO: 4000/109

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' DISCUSSES POLITICAL WORK

HK020402 Beining GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Qi Fang [2058 2455]: "Do Away With an Incorrect Formula"]

[Text] "A political worker is equal to a tiger balm cadre, who is equal to a nonspecialized cadre." This has almost become a final conclusion. When persuading those comrades who are not content with doing ideological and political work, we often say that "tiger balm" cadres are also the need of the people and are indispensable. Other people look at it this way and the comrades who are engaged in ideological and political work are also prone to look at it this way.

In order to fundamentally step up and improve our ideological and political work and to enable ideological and political work to give scope to its tremendous power in building material and spiritual civilization, it is necessary for us to fundamentally change our concept and do away with the incorrect formula that "a political cadre is equal to a tiger balm cadre, who is equal to a nonspecialized cadre."

What is "tiger balm"? It is a "cure-all" medicine which is incapable of effecting a radical cure of any illness. If ideological and political cadres are such "tiger balm" cadres, does not ideological and political work become "tiger balm" work incapable of solving any problems?

No. We should say with perfect assurance that ideological and political work is not "tiger balm" work and that the cadres who engage in this kind of work are not, or should not be, cadres of the "tiger balm" type. In his article "On the Question of Ideological and Political Work," Comrade Hu Yaobang said at the beginning: "The reason why our party is able to lead and unite the masses of people in a great struggle and constantly gain victories is inseparable from the fact that our party consistently attaches importance to ideological and political work." "Being good at doing ideological and political work constitutes an important feature distinguishing ours from other political parties and an extremely important condition for winning successes in both revolution and construction." Is it possible that ideological and political work, which has played such an important role in both revolution and construction, is work of the "tiger balm" type, incapable of solving any problems? Is it possible that the ideological and

political cadres who have diligently and conscientiously scored great achievements in the ideological and political work of the party are cadres of the "tiger balm" type, incapable of solving any problems?

Obviously, it is wrong to relate or equate ideological and political work and cadres with "tiger balm." Ideological and political work is not "tiger balm" but "antibiotic," "vitamins," "biological hormones," "plasma" as well as other spiritual "patent medicine" for preventing and curing spiritual illness and improving our spiritual health. Ideological and political cadres are not "tiger balm" cadres but brilliant "doctors," "nurses" and "environmental protection" workers of the spiritual world. Just as we need various suitable medicine and brilliant doctors to preserve our health, we need effective ideological and political work and brilliant ideological and political cadres to preserve the spiritual health and vigorous combat power of the revolutionary ranks.

By the same token, we should also say with perfect assurance that ideological and political cadres are not "nonspecialized" cadres but genuine specialized cadres with rich professional knowledge. Why is it that the work of transforming nature is a specialty and the work of treating people's diseases and preserving people's health is a specialty while the work of transforming people and the ideological and political work of preserving the spiritual health of the revolutionary ranks is not qualified as a specialty? Why is it that the work of studying "all things" in nature can be regarded as a branch of learning while the work of studying how to be the "wisest of all creatures" cannot be considered as a science? Why is it that the education of youths and adolescents can be studied as an independent educational science while ideological and educational work among adults engaging in practical work should not be studied as a more complex and profound science? It should be said that ideological and political work is a specialty and a profound branch of learning at that. It has its own definite aims, tasks, scopes and objects and has its own specific laws and comprehensive guiding ideology and scientific system. It also has very close relationships with many branches of learning, such as sociology and psychology. Therefore, a real expert in ideological and political work should be considered as a specialist in this specialty. If they fail to master more Marxist theory, how can they apply this theory to educate people? If they fail to understand people, the laws governing people's ideological development, complex social relations and the political theory and methods of ideological and political work, how can they effectively carry out their work and attain proper results? Obviously, they should arm themselves with Marxist theory, with the line, principles and policies of the party and with the theory, principles, methods and knowledge of ideological and political work. We agree that writers, philosophers, theoreticians and teachers are specialists and are engineers of the soul. Likewise, we should also agree that ideological and political work is a specialty and the cadres engaged in this kind of work are, likewise, important engineers of the soul. We should acknowledge and commend ideological and political cadres who have scored achievements on the ideological front and who possess rich knowledge and experience and regard them as experts. It is all the more necessary to encourage all cadres engaged in ideological and political work to look upon

their work as a specialty, assiduously study and master its laws and, with this professional knowledge, open up a new situation in ideological and political work. If we have more specialists in ideological and political work, we shall be able to greatly raise the standard of our ideological and political work as a whole and give more scope to its power. The significance of doing away with the formula that "a political cadre is equal to a tiger balm cadre, who is equal to a nonspecialized cadre," lies precisely in this.

To do away with this incorrect formula, it is necessary not only to understand the great importance of ideological and political work but also to adopt a series of specific measures. First of all, it is necessary to do away with the idea that other specialized work should be undertaken by those who have received professional training while ideological and political work can be done by those who are politically reliable. Efforts should be made to gradually set up a contingent of specialized personnel who possess experience in and knowledge of ideological and political work. We should particularly stress that ideological and political cadres become better educated and more professionally competent. There should be a special school for studying ideological and political work. Colleges and universities may set up ideological and political work sections or departments. If we lack political cadres in this professional knowledge, we should conduct rotational training by stages and in groups.

Comrade Hu Yaobang repeatedly pointed out that an outstanding problem in our ideological and political work is that we "fail to sufficiently sum up our experience, study the ideological conditions of cadres and masses at present and adopt appropriate methods." In a certain sense, we have built up our party by relying on ideological and political work and, in the history of the Chinese revolution and construction, our ideological and political work has played its tremendous role and gained extremely rich experience. Improving this rich experience to the theoretical level is a very urgent task. We are now in a new historical period of building a modern and powerful socialist country in an all-round way and of opening to the outside world. Studying the new situations and problems in ideological and political work is a task which brooks no delay. Therefore, we have every reason to set up a special body for studying ideological and political work. We have all the conditions to grasp this work at an early date so that we can bring forth special theoretical works and textbooks on ideological and political work which take Marxism-Leninism as their guides and possess Chinese characteristics. Doing a good job of this work will not only play an important guiding role in the current and future ideological work but very probably constitutes a new contribution to Marxist theory. This is because the theory of ideological and political work should retain an irreplaceable position in the entire theoretical system of Marxism.

CSO: 4005/750

## PARTY AND STATE

### BA YI RAPS CENTRAL LEADERS FOR PRO-U.S. ATTITUDE

OW061149 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 4 Apr 83

[Text] Recently, certain leading comrades of the central authorities have continued to openly allege that the path of Sino-American cooperation is becoming broader and broader and that the prospects for developing Sino-American relations are great. Not only do these words not tally with the facts, but they are also vastly different from the anti-China clamors uttered by the U.S. President and U.S. Government leaders in recent days. Issuing this kind of statement at a time when the United States is escalating its anti-China clamors amounts to winking at the anti-China move made by the U.S. authorities.

Since Reagan reiterated the shop-worn theme of casting Marxism-Leninism into the ashes of history and after the writing off of several clauses in the Sino-U.S. joint communique signed 6 months ago at one stroke, the U.S. Government has officially looked upon maintaining relations with Taiwan as a guiding principle of upholding that relationship.

Many policymakers in the U.S. Government even commented that the United States should not waver in its principle and stand toward the Taiwan question in spite of the compromise and concessions made by mainland China. The U.S. Congress believes that the future of Taiwan, without pressure from mainland China, can be solved peacefully in a way acceptable to the people of Taiwan and in conformity with U.S. law. In other words, in recent days the U.S. Senate and House have not only brazenly discussed the question dealing with the future of the people in Taiwan, but also demanded that our country and government strictly solve the question concerning our Taiwan in accordance with the law passed by U.S. Congress.

No independent and sovereign country can accept this kind of wanton interference in our internal affairs which gravely tramples on the norm of international relations. Yet, individual leading persons of the central authorities have turned a blind eye to this deeprooted hostility of U.S. imperialists toward China and the Chinese people. They prattled about friendship and cooperation every time certain American VIP's or representatives visited China. However, the fact is: More U.S. Government and congressional bigwigs have visited Taiwan more frequently than the mainland. Not too long ago, Teller, father of the U.S. hydrogen bomb, paid a formal visit to Taiwan on behalf of American scientists.



The United States maintains diplomatic relations with China for the precise purpose of making our country a pawn in the anti-Soviet outpost of the U.S. global strategy and keeping China from liberating Taiwan by force. Everywhere American chieftains clamored that mainland China needed the United States far more than the United States needed mainland China, and so forth. It is therefore clear that as a result of the anti-China policy being arrogantly pursued by the U.S. Government, the path of Sino-American cooperation is becoming narrower and narrower with each passing day instead of becoming broader and broader. Denying this fact, seeking patronage with the United States in an unprincipled way and currying favor with U.S. imperialism can only make us lose our national dignity and undermine our national interests.

CSO: 4005/750

## PARTY AND STATE

### BOOK ON PATRIOTIC FIGHTERS TO BE PUBLISHED

HK071444 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]: "Become a Socialist Patriotic Fighter--Preface to 'Ode to the Stormers'--RED FLAG Praises a Book on Intellectuals, Which Will Be Published by the RED FLAG Publishing House"]

[Text] The advanced deeds of Comrades Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu have evoked strong repercussions among the people throughout the nation. Their glittering socialist patriotic ideological radiance impels people to shoulder the historical mission of rejuvenating China. The social, scientific, educational and cultural editorial department of RED FLAG has compiled a book--"Ode to the Stormers," recommending to all of us the advanced deeds of large batches of outstanding middle-aged intellectuals who struggle on the scientific and technological front. This is a job of great significance.

The most prominent characteristics of the Chinese middle-aged intellectuals represented by Comrades Jiang Zhuying, Luo Jianfu and so on are that they have a high level of socialist patriotic political consciousness. In his opening speech to the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping profoundly pointed out: "We Chinese people have our own national self-respect and pride. We deem it the highest honor to love our country and contribute our all to its socialist construction, and we deem it the deepest disgrace to impair the interests, dignity and honor of our socialist motherland." This is the best summarization of the psychological features of the Chinese people and also the best summarization of the basic features of socialist patriotism.

Patriotism, as Lenin put it, is "one of the most deeply ingrained sentiments, impregnated by the existence of separate fatherlands for hundreds and thousands of years." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, pp 168-169) As far as our country is concerned, patriotism means ardently loving the motherland's 9.6 million square kilometers of land of charm and beauty; ardently loving the motherland's 5,000 years of history of splendid and brilliant civilization; and ardently loving the thoughts and feelings of the Chinese people of all nationalities who are industrious, brave, versatile and full of revolutionary tradition. However, at different historical stages, patriotism has had different historical substance, that is, with

the development of history, it has had a different political nature and a different level of development. In times like ours, although our patriotism should still carry forward the tradition of this kind of simple patriotic thought and feelings, it must mean ardently loving our socialist People's Republic of China in a clear, firm and consistent manner rather than exclusively and ardently loving our motherland which has a vast territory, abundant resources, a civilization of long standing and a very large population and where generations of the Chinese people were born and brought up.

This socialist patriotism is related to communist ideology and practice. This is the major development of the patriotism of the Chinese people in our times. It has not only transcended the patriotism during the period of old democratic revolution but is also different from the patriotism during the period of new democratic revolution. It requires us to ardently love our great socialist motherland, ardently love the great people who are engaged in socialist peaceful labor, ardently love our great socialist system which is enough to ensure an increasingly rich and colorful life for the people and ardently love our great CPC which leads us in marching ahead. Moreover, it is precisely because we ardently love all this that we must regard the defending of the independence and security of the motherland, the vindication of the honor and dignity of the motherland and the fight for turning our motherland into a more magnificent and stronger country with a brighter future as our most sacred duty. All of us must closely link our personal fate with the destiny of our motherland, closely link the destiny of the motherland with the cause of communism, unconditionally and heroically devote ourselves to the cause of socialist modernization at the present stage without hesitating to make self-sacrifice and constantly forge ahead toward the great objective of communism. We must not expect every patriot to be a communist just as we must not expect every citizen to be a communist. However, in our time, only when we all raise our own patriotic thoughts and feelings to the higher plane of socialist patriotism can we become really loyal, firm and unswerving patriots.

It has been the road taken by tens of millions of fine sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, including the vast numbers of intellectuals who start with patriotism, to move toward communism through various kinds of exploration and education in practice and to eventually become communists. Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Zou Taofen, Li Siguang and Shen Yanbing all took this road. This is the historical characteristic of the Chinese intellectuals and also their glorious tradition.

Middle-aged intellectuals, such as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu, as we have seen now, have also started from patriotism and resolutely taken the communist road. When they began to be sensible, they saw the corruption and darkness of old society and through the great struggle for liberation carried out by these people under the leadership of the CPC, they have seen the bright future and hope of the motherland. After liberation, their growth was in step with the development of the socialist cause. They consciously realized that their fate was inseparably linked with the destiny of socialist new China. Therefore, they pinned the future of the motherland on the CPC and on the socialist cause, firmly followed the CPC and

gradually fostered communist ideology, faith and values. Their ardent love for the motherland is manifested in concentrated way in ardently loving the CPC, and in the socialist system and in devoting their all to the cause of socialist modernization of the motherland under the leadership of the CPC. This is the radiance of socialist patriotism glittering in them and also a source of strength for them to courageously forge ahead in high spirits and full of vigor without avoiding difficulties and hardships, achieve successes in their profession and make contributions to the motherland.

Another salient characteristic of the outstanding middle-aged intellectuals, such as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu, is the integration of theory and practice and of knowledge and behavior. By ardently loving the motherland, instead of allowing their ardent love for the motherland to remain at the stage of words, with their own deeds they have done their part to help build the edifice of socialism, won honor for the motherland, worked for the happiness of the people and seriously performed their own sacred duty. They are all socialist solid workers and builders of the modernization program. They have a common character and morals: they are revolutionary ideals, have a scientific approach, lofty moral values and the ability to create, a broad field of vision and the spirit of being practical and realistic. They have realized that since the country is economically and culturally backward, to realize our modernization, we are bound to encounter numerous difficulties. They have even more realized that it is precisely because we are backward and faced with difficulties that we are required all the more to struggle all our lives rather than a month or a year. In order to march toward science and technology, they assiduously study, diligently work with a strong will to tackle key problems and with a spirit of defying death and struggling for victory. To manufacture atom bombs, some of them did first-class feats in simple and crude work sheds; others sought mineral resources for the motherland, tempered themselves in deep mountains and opened up the gate of a geological "labyrinth"; still others did not waver in their will to serve the national minorities although they were twice carried away by the river current and twice thrown to the ground from a frightened horse, or they were held back by black bears or they were nearly buried by heavy snow. What a deep love for the motherland these comrades have! What is more worthy of our emulation is that these comrades may fulfill their pledges in a time when the construction of the motherland is thriving and socialist warmth prevails everywhere and when the individuals are in propitious circumstances; and that these comrades still fulfill their own pledges heart and soul and never waver in their original intention to ardently love the CPC and socialism in a time when the construction of the motherland suffered setbacks, there were errors and faults in the party's work and individuals were unjustly treated and even wronged and forced into adverse circumstances. Under such a situation, they diligently and assiduously served the motherland with all their might and never did anything which infringed upon the interests, dignity and honor of the motherland. All this is the practice of patriotism and also the practice of communism because the building of socialism in China today is aimed at the ultimate goal of realizing communism in China tomorrow.

The middle-aged intellectuals, such as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu, have still another characteristic, that is, they regard their own mental labor as the bold and generous cause of communism and hold that all work they do, whether it is research work, educational work or cultural work, constitutes a section of the collective undertakings and a part of the socialist cause of the motherland rather than private affairs. In the course of scaling the heights of science and technology, the more they keep abreast of the latest developments in world science and technology, the more anxious they feel about the backwardness of the state's science and technology and the more they realize the weight of the tasks they are shouldering. The sense of responsibility and urgency has impelled them to study more assiduously, work more diligently, quicken the pace of scaling the heights of science and technology and put in more complicated, strenuous and hard mental labor. When they made a breakthrough in their scientific research work which filled in a gap in the fields of science and technology or it held a leading position in the world or it narrowed the disparity between ourselves and the world's advanced levels, they would be heartily happy, because this was the success of the Chinese people and an honor for the motherland. They have come to know that the modernization program cannot be separated from scientific and technological progress; only when China becomes a powerful country can it make fairly great contributions to mankind. So in their work, they are always selfless and never give a thought to personal fame and position and never regard their knowledge as their private belonging. When other comrades are engaged in tackling key problems, they will support and help them without reserve; when young people come and ask them for advice, they will enthusiastically give guidance. In their opinion, seeking personal fame and gain is a disgrace and bringing credit to the motherland is the highest honor. In the last few years, some comrades have gone abroad to engage in advanced studies. Firmly bearing in mind the party's teaching that going abroad to study advanced science and technology is aimed at making them "take root, sprout, blossom and bear fruit" on the soil of the motherland, they have refused the excellent pay and conditions and the comfortable lifestyle in the capitalist society and firmly answered: The motherland is my mother and I will contribute my talent to my mother. This action is an embodiment of the aspirations, and the national self-respect and pride of the Chinese people. All this indicates that under the education of the CPC, China's intellectuals of a younger generation have much-admired lofty ideology and moral character and they are worthy of being listed in the ranks of the most beloved people.

(This article was slightly abridged by our editorial staff.)

CSO: 4005/750

## PARTY AND STATE

### NANJING SEMINAR HELD ON TAIPING TIANGUO

HK210402 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 83 p 5

["Academic Trends" article by Fang Zhiguang [2455 0037 0342] and Jiang Tao [1203 3447]: "Seminar Held To Mark 130th Anniversary of Establishment of Tianjing as Capital of Taiping Tianguo"]

[Text] A seminar was held in Nanjing 15-19 March to mark the 130th anniversary of the founding of Tianjing as the capital of Taiping Tianguo. The seminar was sponsored by the Academy of Social Sciences of Jiangsu Province, the Provincial Society of Historical Science, the Department of History of Nanjing University, the Municipal Society of Historical Science and the Museum of the History of Taiping Tianguo. Noted historian Li Shu delivered an academic report entitled "Marxism and Chinese Historical Science," and Dai Yi gave a report entitled "What I Expect of the Research Work on the History of Taiping Tianguo."

The representatives at the meeting centered their discussions on problems concerning the establishment of Tianjing as the capital of Taiping Tianguo.

In the past, many comrades in historical circles held the view that the establishment of Nanjing as the capital of Taiping Tianguo in 1853 was a strategic error of conservatism, because it missed the excellent chance to march northward on the crest of victory and "drive straight on to the barbarian court," and eventually ended in failure. On the basis of further intensive studies, many representatives put forward their own ideas, which were different from the above viewpoint. They thought that the establishment of Nanjing as the capital was not necessarily the key factor that determined the fate of Taiping Tianguo. The establishment of Tianjing as the capital was one thing, and the mistakes committed by the Taiping leaders afterward in the political and military fields was another. They should be differentiated and not mixed together. These comrades held that the establishment of the capital played an active role in the development of the revolutionary cause, and it dealt a shattering blow to the Qing government politically and economically. The failure of Taiping Tianguo was due to a series of decisionmaking errors after the founding of the capital. Contradictory views were also expressed at the meeting. A number of comrades still held that the establishment of Nanjing as the capital was a serious error in the process of decisionmaking, reflecting the mentality

of the Taiping leaders to rest content with the territory to the south of the Changjiang River. Still another view presented was that concrete analysis should be made regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the founding of the capital, because they were often intermingled. They thought that it was correct for the Taiping leaders to develop mobile warfare after the Jintian Uprising into a kind of base-supported warfare after the successful takeover of Nanjing. However, it was only logical that strategic advance was bound to change to strategic defense after the setting up of the capital, and the strategic key point of defending Nanjing helped to form the passive and conservative ideas in the minds of the Taiping leaders, and all this amounted to a kind of "loss." They thought that in this respect the gains outweighed the loss. Still other comrades cited passages from Zhang Taiyan's "Qiu Shu--On the Suitability of a Building," demonstrating the reason why Hong Xiuquan established his capital in Tianjing--a very rich and prosperous place which was endowed with "monarchical halos" and which could be used as a center to launch military and political struggles.

The "Tianjing Incident" was another important problem heatedly discussed. Basically, there were two different views. One view was that the story of "being forced to be crowned king" was fictitious and the story of "being informed against" was well-founded. In the Tianjing Incident, Hong Xiuquan and Wei Changhui fell into the enemy's trap of estrangement and killed Yang Xiuqing on impulse, thinking that Yang was a traitor and usurper. If there had been such an act of "being forced to be crowned king," Hong would not have given rehabilitation to Yang and proclaimed his fatal date as the "Dong Sheng Festival." Another point of view was that there was no well-founded historical proof to testify to the story of "the trap of estrangement," which should at most be regarded as a conjecture. From the point of summing up the historical experience, attention should not only be paid to accidental factors, so-called fusewire issues, but also to the cognizance of the certainty of the Tianjing Incident. Some comrades pointed out that the enthusiastic discussions on the Tianjing Incident were of paramount importance to summing up the historical experience of Taiping Tianguo. The most important lesson drawn therefrom was the necessity to prevent "ruining the Great Wall from within" and therefore the internal solidarity within the revolutionary ranks must be greatly strengthened. The ideological cause of the Tianjing Incident was monarchism and factionalism--it was essentially a struggle for the redistribution of power.

The representatives concertedly held that the study of the history of Taiping Tianguo since the founding of new China has gained very great achievements. However, originality and creativeness are always valuable in academic researches, and the existing standards should be upgraded to a higher level. Comrade Dai Yi and Comrade Mao Jiaqi pointed out that in order to open up a new phase in the study of the history of Taiping Tianguo, the following points should be noted: First, strive to learn Marxist theories so as to guide and promote our research work, and make new investigations on those questions already discussed in the past; second, strive to open up new fields of study and put forth new subjects; and third, continue to collect, sort out and translate materials in Chinese and foreign languages. Comrade Dai Yi also expressed his wish that specialized volumes on the history of Taiping Tianguo would be published in the near future.

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGDONG GOVERNOR ATTENDS HONG KONG BUSINESSMEN'S FETE

OW180608 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1553 GMT 15 Apr 83

[Report by Shi Meisi and Huang Shaomin]

[Text] Guangzhou, 15 Apr (XINHUA)--This evening the China Export Commodities Fair held a banquet at the White Swan Guesthouse in Guangzhou to entertain noted businessmen from Hong Kong and Macao who are currently attending the spring fair.

Liang Lingguang, director of the Guangzhou fair and governor of Guangdong Province, spoke at the banquet. He said: This is the 53d trade fair since its inauguration in 1957. Under the guidance of the guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress and in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefits, we shall actively expand exports, introduce materials and advanced technological equipment urgently needed by the domestic market and develop trade relations with various countries and areas through unified planning, policy and operations. I wish to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to the Chinese General Chambers of Commerce and to the people of various circles in Hong Kong and Macao who have contributed to the trade fair. I hope each of you will contribute your precious criticisms and suggestions to bringing about a still better fair in the future.

Wang Pinqing, deputy director of the Guangzhou fair and representative of the minister of foreign economic relations and trade, toasted the guests at the banquet.

Attending the banquet were noted personages of the industrial and commercial circles of Hong Kong and Macao. They were: Wang Kuancheng, He Xian, Tang Bingda, Huo Yingdong, Ma Wanqi, Ye Ruolin, He Shizhu, Sun Chengzeng and Gu Shengxiang.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ON BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK201155 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Apr 83 p 4

[Commentator's article: "Continue To Push Forward the Activities of the Armymen and People Jointly Building Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] With the participation of the PLA in the civility and courtesy month campaign this year, the campaign has been carried out in a more extensive and down-to-earth manner and produced more tangible results, with the masses being ideologically aroused to action in a more thorough way. Extensively conducting the activities of the armymen and people jointly building spiritual civilization is a major distinguishing feature of the participation of the PLA in the activities of the second "National Civility and Courtesy Month" this year.

In the middle of March, the PLA General Political Department called a discussion and emulation meeting on the activities of the armymen and people of the capital jointly building spiritual civilization. They visited typical cases, such as the civilized neighborhood jointly built by the first company of a certain regiment under the Beijing Garrison Command and the neighborhood committee of Liuyin Street; the civilized school jointly built by a certain regiment and the Beijing No 20 Middle School and the civilized village jointly built by a certain artillery regiment and the Lanjiaying production brigade of Shuyi County, where they exchanged experiences and studied the measures for thoroughly conducting the activities of the armymen and people jointly building spiritual civilization. The Beijing Municipal CPC Committee and government attached particular importance to this matter and decided to conduct the activities of the armymen and people jointly building a civilized city of Beijing throughout the municipality. Prior to this, at the beginning of March, the Tianjin municipality decided to popularize the experience of a certain unit of the PLA and planned to turn 110 residential districts into civilized neighborhoods with the help of the PLA. At present the PLA has established regular contact with more than 50,000 local units. The activities of the armymen and people jointly building spiritual civilization have spread from the countryside to the cities and progressed from the concerted efforts of the armymen and people to build civilized villages, to their concerted efforts to build civilized cities, residential districts, factories, shops, schools and stations. The activities of the armymen and people jointly building spiritual civilization

are also conducted in the stockaded villages where the national minorities reside, on islands, and in the home villages of Overseas Chinese, specialized zones and in tourist spots. The personnel who take part in this kind of activity have developed from grassroots cadres and fighters to the leading organs and cadres at all levels. Many retired veteran cadres also take an active part in the activities and regard making contributions to the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization as the best way to "generate electricity with residual heat." In the course of the activities of jointly building spiritual civilization with the local authorities, the army has more and more come to realize the importance of strengthening cultural development and has therefore attached [words illegible] of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization with local intellectuals. The activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization have promoted the activities of those localities which are building civilized villages and residential districts. Baoding Prefecture popularized a number of typical examples of civilized villages jointly built by the army and people and thus encouraged one-third of the rural areas--more than 1,900 villages--to conduct the activities to establish civilized villages. Using the experience of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization for reference, the Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee and government have studied and drawn up plans for turning 30 percent of the 60,000 production teams throughout the province into civilized villages within 3 years.

The reason why the campaign of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization--this newly emerging thing--can possess such powerful vitality and develop in an extensive and thoroughgoing way first lies in the fact that it tallies with the national condition and the aspirations of the people, and corresponds to the needs of the times. With the completion of the task of putting things to rights in the CPC's guiding ideology, the focus of work of the whole party has been shifted to the socialist modernization program. The strategic task confronting the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the whole country, is to build a high level of socialist material and spiritual civilization. The CPC Central Committee has demanded that the PLA become not only the great wall of steel which defends the socialist motherland, but also an important force for building socialist material and spiritual civilization. The emergence of the historical movement and vigorous development of the campaign of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization is precisely in keeping with the trend of historical development and with the needs of the times, and the campaign is therefore the glorious duty of the officers and fighters of the whole army. This campaign is the new development of the fine tradition of the PLA supporting the government and cherishing the people, and a new creative undertaking of mass work on the one hand, and effective measures for strengthening unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people in the new period, on the other hand.

The campaign of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization completely conforms with the aspirations of the broad masses of the people in both town and country to urgently demand establishing good

standards of social conduct and public order, and strengthening ideological education and cultural development. The participation of the army in the campaign of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization has broken through the past practice, under which doing good deeds for others was confined to a certain period and to a certain sphere, changed the campaign being carried out occasionally into one being carried out regularly, changed the campaign being carried out in a sporadic way into one being carried out in a systematic way and changed the campaign serving the part into one handling things in an overall manner. The carrying out of the long-term building of spiritual civilization by the army and the masses of people is a good form of concretely implementing and persisting in the drive for "five stresses, four beauties and three ardent loves" in a sustained way. The 10-year internal disorder has polluted the party style and the standards of social conduct. In terms of the masses, that is, it seems that the party style and the standards of social conduct suffered from an "internal injury syndrome." It is the common wish of the broad masses of people, and officers and fighters of the PLA, to suit the remedy to the case and solve the problems in an overall manner. Arousing the largest numbers of the masses of the people to do away with old habits and establish new standards of social conduct through the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization, is one of the important guarantees for bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in the party style and the standards of social conduct. The masses have noticed that wherever the campaign of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization is carried out well, there will be a tidy and clean environment, good standards of social conduct and good public order, a relationship of a new type between man and man, and growth in production and improvements in the well-being of the people. They have thus realized more strongly the necessity of launching the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization. The commune members who have taken part in establishing civilized villages with the army have expressed it well, saying: "The responsibility system and civilized villages are two magic weapons for changing the features of the countryside and strengthening the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization in the rural areas."

The activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization similarly comply with the needs of army building in the new period. In the new situation, to preserve the true qualities of the people's army, it is necessary to bring into full play the roles of the army, society and family, and to strengthen ideological and political work among the cadres and fighters. With the participation in the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization, the army can derive rich political nourishment from the masses of people and enhance the ability of the cadres and fighters to organize and have a tempering base for training dual-purpose personnel for the army and local governments, and thus win the support and help of the local governments and intellectuals. Our experience has shown: Wherever the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization are carried out in a satisfactory way, there will be an improvement in the relationship between the army and the people of the army unit, and the construction of the army unit will be

promoted and accelerated there. Making concerted efforts with the masses of people to jointly build spiritual civilization, our own army is on very intimate terms with the people, feeling just like fish in water. The campaign of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization is mutually needed by the army and the local authorities and they will benefit therefrom. The fighters say: "With the establishment of a civilized center through the concerted efforts of the army and people, two civilized flowers will blossom." This is precisely the reason for why the activities of the army and people are full of vitality.

Although the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization have been carried out for only a short time, they have been taken seriously and encouraged by all sides concerned. When hearing the report on the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "I am all for it." At the inaugural meeting of the central "five stresses, four beauties and three ardent loves" drive committee, Comrade Wan Li said: "It is a good slogan for the army and people to jointly build a civilized city of Beijing!" Xu Xiangqian, vice chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, specially wrote a few words of commemoration, reading: "The Liuyin Army-Civilian Civilized Neighborhood." He Ziang, Zhou Peiyuan and Qian Changzhao, vice chairmen of the CPPCC wrote a few words reading: "Our great wall of steel has rendered outstanding service to the state" on a vertically hung scroll, while saluting the units of the Beijing Garrison Command which have participated in the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization. All these praises serve as a spur to the PLA. The PLA must stand closely together with the masses of people and exert prolonged concerted efforts so as to make more contributions to our endeavors to build two civilizations.

In order to push the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization a step further, improve them month after month and year after year, and stress the practical results of the activities and carry them out for a long time to come, the PLA is continuing to conduct education in communism and patriotism in the whole army, so that the vast numbers of cadres and fighters will lay a more solid ideological foundation for building spiritual civilization. In the course of the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization, efforts should be made to uphold the principles of giving priority to the local leadership, to arousing the masses to unfold the activities themselves, and to carrying out the ideological and political work, preventing formalism and persisting in simultaneously grasping the "two civilizations" so that the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization will become more effective. In the course of the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization, army comrades must honestly learn from the masses of people. Endeavors should be made to satisfactorily integrate the work of helping the local authorities with that of promoting the army so that the activities of learning from the local authorities will run through the whole process of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization. In 1943, the army and the people in the liberated areas extensively launched the "two-supports" campaign

which vigorously promoted the great unity between the CPC and the government and between the army and the people, and accelerated the victorious progress of the war of resistance against Japan and the people's liberation war. In the new historical period, to unfold the activities of the army and people jointly building spiritual civilization and to carry out the great undertaking in a conscientious and satisfactory way--an undertaking which benefits the country, the army and the people--we must further strengthen the great unity between the CPC and the government and between the army and the people so that the flowers of spiritual civilization will blossom all over the land and the socialist modernization program will forge ahead at a faster pace.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### BA YI CRITICIZES CADRE PROMOTION PRACTICES

OW210602 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 19 Apr 83

[Text] At present, leading organs of various PLA general departments and services are carrying out reform by selecting the young and middle-aged cadres to leading positions. However, serious problems remain. It is learned that in selecting cadres, most units have failed to comply with the stipulations of the CPC Military Commission, which specified that the selection should be made on the basis of nomination by the masses and after soliciting opinions from the broad masses. Instead, a method comparable to appointing a crown prince was adopted, with the leading cadres having the final say. As a result, many cadres who are good at boasting and flattering were promoted to leading positions whereas other good cadres, who truly are able to contribute to army building, were cast aside.

With regard to structural reform, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee has put forward several stipulations for cadres at all levels to follow. These stipulations specifically emphasized that cadres at all levels must value the revolutionary cause above all else, be particular about principles, uphold party spirit and oppose factionalism. But leading cadres of many organs have persisted in their old ways of doing things. What should be noted is that while factionalism, common in the Cultural Revolution period, is rarely seen, another form of denatured [bian xing di] factionalism is now quite prevalent.

For example, the leading cadres now serving in many PLA units and military organizations were not selected with the help of the masses but rather were decided on by unit leading cadres alone. They were not selected according to their ability but were promoted according to a set of criteria: Is he loyal to individual leading cadres? Can he take orders and follow instructions? Is a certain person at ease with him in charge? Since the selection of cadres is based on the likes, dislikes and personal trust of leading cadres, factionalism and groups loyal to individuals concerned have appeared.

At present, party organs, newspapers and other caricatures are widely publicizing the story about Bo Le [an ancient figure] who could recognize fine steeds. In fact, it has been proven that this method of analogizing Bo Le is not a very brilliant one, because the so-called Bo Le referred to here means the leading cadres at a higher level. Yet, in practice, most of the leading persons are not Bo Le's.

In the selection of cadres, the leading cadres have been confined themselves to their own realms. This situation is worst at the central level, as shown in many cases: A 70-year-old cadre would take over when an 80-year-old stepped down; or a 69-year-old was replaced by a 67-year-old. In spite of the many changeovers, the average age of members of the leading bodies at the central level is not any younger in the true sense. Precisely because of this erroneous way of selecting cadres, our party and our state have attracted attention on all fronts and in all spheres.

In recent years, because of errors committed by the leadership, several hundred million yuan in property, including some that belonged to the army, was lost for good. Three years ago, because a leading person of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry issued confused orders, 72 class brothers and 37 million yuan in property were sent to the bottom of the sea [referring to the capsizing of the oil rig Bohai No 2 in Bohai Bay on 25 November 1979]. However, because that certain leading comrade on the petroleum front got along well on a personal level with leading persons at the central level, he was again given an important position in the army. Today, under the pretext of selecting young and middle-aged cadres in the course of the structural reform, some units and leading persons are still pursuing this cadre policy of forming a clique to pursue self-interest, appointing people by favoritism, drawing a personal line and threatening that those who submit will prosper and those who resist will perish.

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PARTY AND STATE

PRC DOCTOR'S 'COMMUNIST SPIRIT' ACCLAIMED

HK150711 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Apr 83 p 3

[Commentator's article: "Dedicate Knowledge to the People"]

[Text] In the new historical period, the party is showing warm concern for intellectuals; workers and peasants also warmly welcome intellectuals. Being a part of the working class, what attitude should the vast number of intellectuals take toward their own careers? Zhou Rongli, director of the Dancheng County People's Hospital, Henan Province, and a deputy physician-in-charge, whose deeds are reported by this newspaper today, has given a lively answer.

Zhou Rongli was born in the prosperous city of Shanghai and graduated from a famous school--the Shanghai Medical College. Originally, he also wished to stay in a big city and work in a large hospital. However, when he worked as an intern in the countryside and found that the countryside was seriously short of doctors and medical services, he changed his mind and was determined to settle down in the rural area in eastern Henan and to live among the peasants so as to serve the people there with his knowledge. He has worked consistently hard over the past 20 years and has made first-class achievements in a rural hospital where conditions were very poor. He has the fine professional ethics of a doctor and is diligent and conscientious, serving patients as if they were his own relatives. At crucial moments, he has never considered his own interests. Comrade Zhou Rongli is a model who engages in his work and scientific research in a communist spirit. He has put into practice with concrete actions Comrade Hu Yaobang's call: "We Chinese people living in the 20th century have to bear more hardships and must be willing to make necessary sacrifices for the people's interests. This is determined by historical conditions." To bear more hardships means that we are required by our times to have a dedicated spirit. Only with this spirit can we make the wheel of history roll on.

From the deeds of Zhou Rongli, we can see how noble the Chinese intellectuals are! Many of them have few demands for their material lives, while they are in warm pursuit of achievements in their careers and serve the people with utter devotion. They only have the needs of the party and the people in mind and give no thought to their own difficulties and hardships. How admirable and estimable these noble intellectuals are.



In order to change the backward conditions in rural areas, it is necessary to have such dedicated spirit as Zhou Rongli's. To scale new heights in science and technology, it is also necessary to have Zhou Rongli's dedicated spirit. The creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and the building of a modern socialist power with a high degree of democracy and civilization all need such a dedicated spirit.

Comrade Zhou Rongli, together with the late Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu, are all our good examples. We must bear the responsibility for the dignity of our nation and establish a conscious spirit of dedication so as to truly change our knowledge into huge strength for bringing well-being to the people.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'XINWEN ZHANXIAN' URGES NEWS REPORTING REFORMS

HK081042 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Apr 83 p 4

[Report: "XINWEN ZHANXIAN, Soon To Be Published, Carries Article on Removing Falsehood, Seeking Truth, Reforming News Reporting"]

[Text] In the "Special Publication on Improving News Reporting" (part 4) column, the No 4 issue of this year's XINWEN ZHANXIAN, soon to be published, has carried two articles on the necessity of being truthful in news reporting, namely, "Investigation on the Reporting Incident of 'Peasant Specialist in the Studies of the Dream of the Red Chamber'" and a commentator's article entitled "Remove Falsehood, Seek Truth, Reform News Reporting." The "investigation" and the commentator's article criticize some newspapers and periodicals for their shortcomings characterized by a "deviation from truth" and a willful elevation in the course of reporting on Hu Shiqing, a "Peasant Specialist in the Studies of the Dream of the Red Chamber" in Shaoxin. The two articles also criticize them for their failure to assume a sufficiently practical and realistic attitude and for the damage done to the image of the subjects after RENMIN RIBAO and YANGCHENG WANBAO later published signed articles opposing this practice of "deviating from truth." At the same time, they call on the press circles to adopt measures, be determined to eliminate the "stubborn illness" of being inconsistent with facts in news reporting, conscientiously safeguard the principle of being truthful in news reporting and regard this as an important element in reforming news reporting. In this column, the periodical has also reprinted an article by Hu Jiwei, "A Journalist Discusses Reportage," published in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO. Expounding the truthfulness and artistic quality of reportage, the relationship between truthfulness and artistic quality and the militancy of reportage, the article is worth reading. Other articles carried in this column include "Comrades From Six Newspapers Have an Informal Discussion on Reforming News Reporting," "Provide More News to Readers" by Wen Hui and "Brief News Items Written by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Zedong" (final part).

The current issue of XINWEN ZHANXIAN also carried three articles on how to improve commentary: "On Long and Short Articles" by Fan Rongkang, "Short But Clear-Cut and Deep--Commenting on a Group of Commentaries by RENMIN RIBAO on We Should No Longer Practice the System of 'Everybody Eating From the Same Big Pot'" by Li Demin and "Zhao Chaogou Discusses the Question of Opinion Column" by Xi Wenju. From various angles these articles show that it is necessary to be brief in speech, to come into contact with reality and to publicize the party's policy and Marxist-Leninist theories in light of the practical issues in society.

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON SUN YAT-SEN'S ABDICATION

HK190907 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Peng Dayong [1756 1129 7167]: "The Ideological Basis of Sun Yat-sen's Abdication in Favor of Yuan Shikai"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] There is a difference of views on Sun Yat-sen's giving up the presidency to Yuan Shikai. Some say Sun Yat-sen did this because he claimed no credit for himself. This is the noble morality of a great revolutionary who does not desire fame and position. Others argue: Sun Yat-sen was an inherently weak-kneed person of the bourgeoisie. He handed over the regime to the dregs of feudal autocracy. This meant he failed to abide by revolutionary principles, rely on the masses, or think of the nation's future and the aspirations of the people. In fact it is a "great political mistake." This article intends to make a concrete analysis of the ideological basis of Sun Yat-sen's giving up the presidency to Yuan Shikai.

/First, "promoting revolution through peaceful means."/ Only a month or so after the Wuchang Uprising, 14 provinces in the country proclaimed independence from the rule of the Qing Dynasty. Under such circumstances, the imperial court was compelled to issue an edict to admit mistakes. At the time, the main forces of the Qing Imperial Troops had not yet been totally destroyed. Yuan Shikai was still holding a firm grip of the northern warlord clique; he had become the only strong man in the imperial government. Foreign imperialists were quite aware that their old lackeys would inevitably meet their doom, and that they had to foster a new one. Therefore, they prepared the public for Yuan Shikai's usurpation of power. Not only did they exert pressure on the Qing government to reinstate Yuan but they also forced the revolutionaries to compromise with him, alleging that "only Yuan can save the country." In the reactionary bastion, the clamor that "without Yuan the nation will be wiped out" was raised while among the revolutionaries, the voices requesting Yuan to unify China and establish a republic were also loud. On 16 November 1911, Sun Yat-sen sent a telegram from London to the newspaper MIN LI PAO and asked to convey it to the government of the new army, saying: "I am happy to learn of the setting up of a parliament in Shanghai. I think Li [Yuan-hung] will certainly be elected the president. It is said that Li intends to elect Yuan. It might be done if possible. Anyway, I hope the foundation of a republic will be

consolidated as soon as possible. I have long been disgusted at the contention for fame and position in the Qing government." ("Collected Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 1, p 547) Manipulated by the British consulate-general in Hankou from the end of November to early December, representatives of all provisional governments of the provinces which had proclaimed independence held a meeting. It decided to agree to peace negotiations and passed a resolution on the "outline of the provisional government." It also agreed that Yuan Shikai would be rewarded with the presidency if he forced the Qing emperor to abdicate. To this, Sun Yat-sen did not raise an objection. In a chat with Hu Hanming and Liao Chungkai in Hong Kong on 21 December, Sun Yat-sen told them: "Yuan Shikai is not reliable. Yet we can make use of him to overthrow the 260-year-long Manchu Imperial rule of feudal autocracy. This is better than an amassment of tens of thousands of troops. If Yuan continues to do all kinds of evil as the Qing government, it is much easier to overthrow him because he is far from standing firm. Thus, we can win an initial success for the time being. Furthermore, if we can win victory through peaceful means, why should we resort to armed forces? This will also set an example to the world." ("Collected Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 1, pp 569-570) Thus it can be seen that before he had returned from abroad to take office of the provisional president, Sun Yat-sen already had the tactical idea of subduing the enemy through peaceful means and persuading Yuan Shikai to come across to overthrow the rule of the Qing Dynasty and establish a republic at an early date.

/Second, "hoping to consolidate the foundation of a republic as soon as possible."/ On 16 October 1911 in the United States Sun Yat-sen learned that "Wuchang had been seized by the revolutionaries." On hearing this, he immediately decided to make efforts through diplomatic channels to win support from countries in the world to offer loans to the revolutionary government, yet he suffered a rebuff. At the time, he believed: "If there is not a unified organ to handle internal and external affairs, it is difficult to make a good start." ("Declaration of the Provisional President") Therefore, he said, to establish a unified regime of the republican form at an early date was a task of top priority.

Why should Sun Yat-sen prefer peaceful means to war to "establish a republican state at an early date"? It is because the bourgeois revolutionaries represented by Sun Yat-sen had "three fears" in mind. 1) Fear of a split nation. In a talk with Kang De-li in the middle of November 1911, Sun Yat-sen said: "Seeing China being partitioned and ruled by many republics today, I eagerly hope the people will be able to set up a good central government as quickly as possible." ("Collected Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 1, p 559) He also said that brothers should not fight with each other as foreign powers were glaring like a tiger eyeing its prey. They were trying to reap third party profit and to carve up the territory of our country. 2) Fearing that the people will be plunged into an abyss of misery. In a telegram to Yuan Shikai on 2 January 1912, Sun Yat-sen said: "I cannot bear to see a war between south and north, and that the people will be plunged into an abyss of misery. So I have no objection to holding peace negotiations." (MIN LI BAO, 6 January 1912) On many occasions, Sun Yat-sen also expressed: "I intend to give up the presidency if a war among

ourselves can be avoided. Otherwise, the country will be ravaged by successive wars entailing endless troubles." ("Letters of the Premier," p 375)

3) Fear of foreign powers' intervention. Sun Yat-sen stated: "The sudden rise of the revolutionary army has scared foreign powers out of their wits; they are at a loss as to what to do but remain neutral for the time being. If the snipe and clams grapple, the fishermen will surely come. And if our force is weakened, foreign intervention will surely ensue and the incident of setting fire to the Yuan Ming Palace by the eight-power allied army during the Taiping revolution will occur again." ("Collected Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 1, p 569) Guided by such an idea, Sun Yat-sen wanted to hold peace negotiations and drive a bargain on conference table in the struggle against Yuan Shikai. The problem at issue on the conference table at the time was that Sun would offer to concede the post of presidency of Yuan if he forced the Qing emperor to abdicate, and Yuan would be rewarded with the presidency if he supported the republic.

/Third, "Yuan has now become a member of the republic."/ In the course of peace negotiations between south and north, Sun Yat-sen sometimes kept alert to Yuan and sometimes had illusions about him. In an interview with the SEASHORE MAGAZINE in London in the middle of November 1911, Sun Yat-sen said: "A year ago when Yuan sent his envoy to invite me, I refused credence to him. I believed he was playing a trick with me. In fact he showed his good faith. If I had trusted his words, the revolution might have occurred earlier and I would have been in Beijing now." "Whether I will become the head of the state in name, or whether I will collaborate with others, or even Yuan Shikai, is not of great importance." ("Collected Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 1, pp 577-578) In Sun Yat-sen's eyes, so long as those high-ranking officials and warlords of Han nationality in the Qing government, in spite of their monstrous crimes, say they supported the republic, "all suspicions will be dispelled between them" and "they can become reconciled" to work together for the republic. ("Data of the Xinhai Revolution of 1911," p 6) Guided by the idea of making use of Yuan to "overthrow the Qing government for the sake of the Han people," on the very day when he was elected the provisional president of the Republic of China, Sun Yat-sen sent a telegram to Yuan Shikai, saying: "I arrived in Shanghai the day before yesterday. Comrades have entrusted me to form a provisional government. I think I have an unshirkable duty now and cannot but take the office of provisional president." "I take the post for the time being and hope you make a decision soon to meet the aspiration of the 400 million people." ("Collected Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Vol 1, p 576) Nevertheless, Yuan felt envy at and had a deep-seated hatred for Sun being elected the provisional president. He incited Jiang Guiti and 46 other northern warlords to jointly send a cable to raise an objection, fiercely crying out that "we pledge to fight to the death in defending Yuan." Sun Yat-sen therefore sent a telegram to Yuan on 2 January 1912, explaining: "If a war can be avoided with your efforts to meet the aspiration of the people and maintain the harmony of the nation, I will doubtless part with the presidential office and concede the post to you. If you think this is a trap, it is really misunderstood." ("Key Notes of the Republic" by Wu Tingfang, chapter 1, p 71) The fact that the northern warlords went back on their own words, breached ceasefire agreement and instigated armed conflicts

made Sun Yat-sen so angry that he sent a cable to Yuan Shikai, denouncing: "The army and people of the whole country are very angry because you have broken your promises many times. If you again instigate your troops to launch armed conflicts, it is all your fault. The army and people throughout the country will surely knock you down." ("Yuan Shikai and the Republic of China" by Bai Jiao, Chapter 8, "The Xinhai Revolution," p 135) On the other hand, Sun Yat-sen, in all sincerity, sent a cable to the northern warlords, saying: "The south and the north are of one country. It is not worth your shedding your blood for the private interests of a few people. The provisional government seeks nothing but the establishment of a republic and to save all compatriots from misery. You may join us to run the country together. It is time for you to give up your hostilities and be friends with us." ("Data of the Xinhai Revolution," p 29)

After waging hard struggles for a long time, the emperor of the Qing Dynasty was forced to issue his abdication edict. On the following day, Sun Yat-sen declared: "I have decided to resign my position as the provincial president as I promised." Meanwhile, he recommended Yuan Shikai to take his post to the senate of the provisional government. He said: "The abdication of the emperor has led to the unification of the south and the north. This should be credited to Mr Yuan. I absolutely agree with his political views. As a public servant, I am sure that he will be loyal to the republic. In addition, Mr Yuan has rich experiences. To achieve unification and build the country we must rely on able men. This is why I dare to recommend him to the senate. For the sake of the nation's future, I hope the senate will elect Mr Yuan the president. This will be helpful to the general situation." ("Data of the Xinhai Revolution," pp 132-133) On 17 February, Sun Yat-sen wired a reply to Tan Renfeng and the MIN LI BAO office to explain the reason he gave up the presidency in favor of Yuan, saying: "The emperor of the Qing Dynasty has abdicated and the country has achieved unification. Mr Yuan attained the goal by peaceful means. Owing to his merits he must be elected to the post of the presidency." ("Data of the Xinhai Revolution," pp 137-138) At the time, Overseas Chinese abroad raised objections to electing Yuan Shikai to the post of the presidency. Yet Sun Yat-sen wrote a reply to give the explanation on 23 February. It can thus be seen from the above that Sun Yat-sen waged a struggle against Yuan Shikai but made a compromise with him before and after the establishment of the Nanking provisional government. Nevertheless, the struggle was not staunch at all, but his compromise with Yuan was too much. Under those circumstances, it was impossible for Sun Yat-sen to have a sharp class viewpoint to see clearly the reactionary nature of Yuan. And it is impossible for him to have a high degree of revolutionary vigilance. He innocently believed: As long as Yuan proclaims "to absolutely support the republic" and "swears to observe the constitution laid down by the senate," the chieftain of the counterreactionaries will immediately become a "member of the republic." That is to say, Sun Yat-sen deemed that Yuan Shikai was not a target of the revolution, but a person who could be won over to fight together in the struggle against the Qing government and a reliable revolutionary leader as well. Therefore, it is only natural that he conceded the post of the provisional president to Yuan Shikai.

/Fourth, "there is no need for me to have the power of rule in my hands."/ During the negotiations between the south and the north, Sun Yat-sen showed that he was disgusted at "scrambling for power, influence, interests and money gains" and that he did not care in the least for the post of provisional president. He not only did his utmost to advocate the idea that the "inborn duty" of a revolutionary was to rescue the country and the people and to "regard serving the country and the people as the key task," but also personally put this idea into practice, showing no reluctance to leave his official position "in order to change the general mood of society." Undoubtedly, we should praise this idea. However, we should also point out that though Sun Yat-sen was dedicated to the destiny of the republic, he did not understand the inseparable relations between the control of the state power and the destiny of the republic and he did not realize the importance of the control of the state power. He did not know that the issue of who has the political power was a fundamental one, vital to the success and failure of the revolution. Therefore, he thought that it was immaterial who had the political power. Obviously, this was very wrong.

To sum up, true, the great strength of the reactionary forces at home and abroad at that time was an objective factor that compelled Sun Yat-sen to abdicate the presidency and give it to Yuan Shikai, but this was by no means a major decisive factor. Some people regarded the disparity between the strength of the revolutionaries and the counterrevolutionaries as the starting point for their analysis and thought that the revolutionary force was too weak while the counterrevolutionary one was too strong. That was why the former submitted to the latter and the latter forced the former to give way. This opinion sounds reasonable, but, in fact, leaves much room for discussion. We would say that Sun Yat-sen acted under the guidance of the strategic idea of "winning a war without fighting battles" and "achieving the success of the revolution peacefully" and willingly handed over the power of leadership as a price he paid to win over Yuan Shikai to turn around against the Qing emperor and force the emperor to abdicate, rather than that at that time, the bourgeois revolutionaries represented by Sun Yat-sen were simply unable to counter the pressure of the reactionary force at home and abroad, failed to have the least strength to carry out a struggle against Yuan Shikai and were forced to hand over the state power. This will more satisfactorily conform to the objective reality of history. Facts clearly show that in his abdication and giving away the presidency to Yuan Shikai, in the main, Sun Yat-sen did not act in a forced manner under the coercion of external forces, but acted willingly, coerced only by his own will.

Moreover, though Sun Yat-sen was gullible and had a false confidence in Yuan Shikai, the reason for his abdication did not lie in his being taken in by Yuan Shikai. For a long time, it was thought that the inborn weakness and wavering and compromising nature of the national bourgeoisie determined that Sun Yat-sen could not help but abdicate his presidency. This has been a universally accepted conclusion, but we should evaluate it again. This writer is of the opinion that one of the tasks of historical research is to disclose from phenomena the class essence of historical personages. This is undoubtedly necessary. However, though there was some

internal relationships between Sun Yat-sen's class restriction and his abdication, this relationship was not a causal one, therefore, the former was not the cause or the reason for the latter. An inexorable relation is not necessarily a causal one. This is a commonly known philosophical rule. Our conclusion will not have much convincing force, if it is not based on a concrete analysis of a concrete problem but is merely a simple, indiscriminate application of some abstract concept to all problems. The idea about the class restriction cannot explain the reason why some of the bourgeois revolutionaries resolutely opposed the peace negotiation and persistently disagreed with Sun Yat-sen's abdication. Were they not bound to their class restriction as members of the national bourgeoisie? Why did the same Sun Yat-sen soon after realize that "my abdication was a tremendous political mistake"? ("Collected Works of Dr Sun Yat-sen," p 503) but at first, he thought, "My abdication was indeed a satisfactory action"? ("A Complete Collection of Sun Yat-sen's Works," "Letters," Vol 1, p 375)

Furthermore, the consequence of Sun's giving away his presidency to Yuan Shikai was a mixture of correctness and mistake and of success and failure. It both disintegrated the enemy and forfeited the revolution of its achievement. On the one hand, it speeded up the collapse of the Qing Dynasty and brought about the reunification between the north and the south and on the other hand, it made the government of the republic deteriorate and exist only in name. It drove away the feudal emperor, but provided Yuan Shikai with the opportunity to usurp state power and restore the monarchy. My opinion is that in view of the strategic idea and the historical conditions at that time, we should basically affirm Sun Yat-sen's abdication of the presidency and should not regard it as a "blunder" or completely negate it. However, after all, he gave away the power of leadership over the revolution and enabled the counterrevolutionaries and sham revolutionaries to usurp the revolutionary state power and thus led the 1911 revolution to conclude in half way. This was by no means a "deed of great virtue" of refraining from scrambling for personal position and power and we should never blindly praise this deed.

CSO: 4005/750



## PARTY AND STATE

### THOUGHTS ON EXECUTION OF CORRUPT OFFICIAL CITED

HK190755 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Cheng Lu [2052 6424]: "Some Thoughts After the Execution of Wang Zhong"]

[Text] Several months have passed since Wang Zhong [3769 0112] was executed. However, the question arising from this event, that is, the question of how we should, under the conditions of a stable development of the socialist system, correctly understand and strengthen the building of the ruling party, needs to be repeatedly considered for a long period of time.

The execution of Wang Zhong tends to remind one of Zhang Zishan [1728 1311 0810] and Liu Qingshan [0491 7230 1472] during the initial period after the founding of the PRC. Superficially, they had many things in common. They are corroded by bourgeois ideas, took the power given them by the people as capital for seeking exorbitant profits, and greedily encroached upon the people's wealth. They were members of the Communist Party but eventually degenerated into exploiters who put profit before everything else. Describing the insatiable avarice of the bourgeoisie, Marx said that wherever there were good prospects of gain, the exploiters would "dare to trample on all laws of the world" and "dare to commit all crimes even at the risk of the gallows." ("Das Kapital," Vol 1, p 829) Still more abominable, Wang Zhong and his ilk sullied the reputation of the communists, fattened themselves on the sweat and toil of the people who had nurtured them, and damaged the noble cause for which millions of people had shed their blood and sacrificed their lives. Essentially, the emergence of Zhang Zishan, Liu Qingshan, Wang Zhong and their ilk told us a principle which had been repeatedly proved in history and in practice: After becoming the ruling party, the proletarian political party must continue to carry forward its fine work style and pay constant attention to strengthening its ideological and organizational development.

However, as teachers by negative example, Zhang Zishan, Liu Qingshan and Wang Zhong taught us different lessons. The case of Zhang Zishan and Liu Qingshan took place in the initial period after the founding of the PRC. At that time, we had just seized political power, all tasks needed to be undertaken and the overthrown reactionary classes were threatening the existence of the newborn People's Republic. Under the conditions at that

time, the emergence of Zhang Zishan and Liu Qingshan drew the party's attention to the question of strengthening the building of the ruling party, and this question had been solved with remarkable results. Today, the emergence of Wang Zhong should have attracted our close attention all the more.

The case of Wang Zhong occurred at a time when we were creating a new situation in the socialist modernization. In the initial period after the founding of the PRC, the principal contradiction at home was that between classes. After the completion of the socialist transformation in the private ownership of the means of production, the exploiting classes had been wiped out as a class, and the principal contradiction at home changed into the contradiction between the working people's ever-growing material and cultural demands and the backward social productive forces. Under these historical conditions, how we should approach and solve the question concerning the building of the ruling party according to the scientific nature and the comprehensiveness of Marxism is a crucial problem concerning the success of our socialist modernization. Any deviation may cause irretrievable losses to our party and hundreds of millions of people. People can still remember clearly that during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the ultra-leftist ideas spread unchecked and the wrong views that "the bourgeoisie is right inside the party" and "a part of the party members and workers" are degenerates led to a decade-long internal disorder. Contrary to the subjective wish in launching the "Great Cultural Revolution," party building had not been carried out well and the counterrevolutionary clique of the "gang of four" wrought havoc and ran wild, seriously impairing the party's work style and undermining party building.

After the decade-long internal disorder, people indignantly criticized the perverse acts of the "gang of four" and carried out thoroughgoing reform in theoretical work. They criticized the mistake of the "theory of continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" and worked with all-out efforts to accomplish the socialist modernization. Undoubtedly, this was correct. However, as sort of a punishment to "leftist" mistakes, some comrades slackened their own ideological remolding and some party organizations neglected their ideological and organizational development and forgot the thesis repeatedly put forth by the CPC Central Committee that in our country, although the principal contradiction has changed, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits and will intensify under certain conditions. This must be rectified. We must soberly see that under the conditions where we adopt the policies of opening the door to the outside world and of enlivening the economy at home, the foreign bourgeois decadent ideas and ways of life will return to pollute the air in our society. Criminals of various types in society will sneak into our party and state organs to seek support and protection and take advantage of the unhealthy tendencies in the party to commit crimes. A few degenerates inside the party will take the opportunity to collaborate with the criminals in society in stealing and encroaching on public property. Therefore, in handling the question of degeneration of a few party members and cadres, we should not start from the "left" to exaggerate the seriousness of the question and become indecisive in implementing the various principles and policies laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

At the same time, we should not cherish rightist ideas, overlook the danger of this question to the party and state, or neglect this question. We must have a clear understanding of this question ideologically and theoretically, have an all-round [word omitted] of it and deal heavy blows at the degenerates. All communists must uphold the basic principles of Marxism, preserve the purity of communism and firmly remember Comrade Chen Yun's admonition: "The ruling party's work style is a question concerning the life and death of the party."

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ARTICLE ON MARXIST THEORY ON MAN

HK180929 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Apr 83 p 5

[Article by Huang Nansen [7806 8547 2773]: "Several Questions Concerning the Theory on Man"]

[Text] The problem of the theory on man is a major theoretical problem and is also a problem on which many debates have been carried out. I am going to give some of my personal opinions on a few aspects of the problem that have been much discussed in the debates.

#### I. On the Alienation of the Essence of Man

The alienation of the essence of man was put forward by Marx in his "Manuscripts on Economics--Philosophy in 1844." It is a problem directly involving the relations between Marxism and humanitarianism. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify its meaning and give some comments on it.

The "Manuscripts" is one of Marx' important works; for it fully displays the process of how Marx shifted from a follower of Hegel and Feuerbach into being a historical materialist. The book clearly criticized Hegel's views, but still to some extent bears the mark of speculative philosophy. Though the book takes a clear-cut stand in praising Feuerbach, it breaks away from the limits of his philosophy. Marx strove to disclose the objective law of the development of human society in the light of economic facts. He failed to achieve it in that book, but had made a stride forward in this respect. The transitional and dual nature of this book is especially remarkable in its exposition of the theory on the alienation of the essence of man. What did Marx mean by the alienation of the essence of man?

Marx regarded the alienation of the essence of man as a component of the alienation of labor. In order clearly to understand what the alienation of the essence of man is, we should first clearly understand the whole theory on labor alienation. As for the explanation of alienation as a concept, people differ in their understanding and evaluation. As a result many articles and books of great length have been written about it. However, we have, anyway, to make clear what Marx really meant by the concept and then comment on it. If my understanding is not wrong, it seems that Marx' theory on alienation includes the following problems:

1. The actual content of labor alienation: Marx treated labor alienation as a process consisting of four stages or aspects:

a. The alienation of the products of labor, that is, the products of labor produced by laborers become an alien force that rule over laborers. "The greater the wealth the laborers have produced, the larger the force and quantity of their products and the poorer the laborers." (p 44) "The alienation related to laborers' possession of the objects of their labor has developed to such a great extent that the larger the number of the objects of their labor, the less the number of these objects the laborers can possess and the more seriously they are ruled by their own products--the capital." (p 45) Here we can clearly see that Marx' alienation differs from Hegel's. According to Hegel, alienation means externalization, objectification and differentiation. It means a transition from the thesis into the antithesis, such as an alienation consisting of a transition from subjectivity into objectivity and an alienation consisting of a transition from logical concepts into natural phenomena. In Marx' opinion, alienation is not only externalization, objectification and differentiation, but also an antagonistic force given rise to by externalization, objectification and differentiation. This has the same meaning as Feuerbach's concept of alienation. Feuerbach thought that God became the force that ruled over and dominated the human race as a consequence of the alienation of the essence of the human race.

b. The alienation of labor activities means that the labor of a laborer become a kind of compulsory and forced labor. "For a laborer, labor is an external thing, that is, it is not a thing of which his essence consists. Therefore, in doing his labor, the laborer is not confirming himself, but negating himself. He is not happy, on the contrary, he feels unhappy. It is not freely that he gives play to his physical and spiritual strength. On the contrary, in doing his labor, he injures his body and spirit." (p 47) This means that labor activities also become things that rule over and oppress laborers.

c. The alienation of the essence of man. "This means changing a man's free and conscious activities in transforming the world into a means for maintaining his survival, a means that is alien to the man's essence." (p 51) It also means that the laborer is deprived of the life of his race--human life--and that there is no radical difference between his activities and the "production" of bees, beavers or ants. When a man has lost his essential nature, he is no longer a man, but is a nonhuman being.

d. Alienation of man from man. This means that the products of a man's labor are possessed by another man. "The alien existence to which labor and labor products belong, which labor serves and for which labor provides products for enjoyment can be nothing but a man." (p 52) This means, a capitalist has become an alien force that rules over a laborer.

2. The relationship between the alienation of labor products and the alienation of man from man: After Marx expounds on the above-mentioned four points, he talks about the problem of the relationship between the

alienation of labor products and the alienation of man from man. This problem involves the problem of the relationships between the above-mentioned four points--the problem of how are we to understand these four points.

At first, Marx thought that the capitalist system was the source of the alienation of products. He said: "The reason the relation between man and the products of his labor--his objectified labor--is regarded as a relation between him and an alien, antagonistic and power object that is independent from him, is because there is another alien, antagonistic and powerful man who is independent from him and who is the master of that object." (p 53) However, immediately afterward, he said that the relations between laborers and capitalists are the consequence of the alienation of labor, which was expounded in point a. He thought that "private property is externalized labor, the outcome, consequence and necessary conclusion of external relations between a laborer and nature." (p 54) "The analysis of this concept shows that even though private property seems as a phenomenon, to be the basis and cause of externalized labor, it, in essence, is nothing but the consequence of externalized labor. This is just the same as in the case of deities, which originally do not cause but are caused by an illusion in human reason. Later, this relationship becomes an interactive one." (p 54) This means that the alienation of labor and private property are the cause and consequence of one another, but the alienation of labor is more basic; for first the alienation of labor causes the emergence of private property and then the latter in turn strengthens the former. Therefore, the above-mentioned four points are not equal but different in their order. The alienation of labor causes the alienation of labor activities, the alienation of labor activities causes the alienation of the essence of man and the alienation of the essence of man causes the alienation of man from man. At the same time each of the latter alienations has a counteraction on the former.

3. The alienation of the essence of man and the sublation of the alienation: Of the above-mentioned four aspects of labor alienation, the alienation of the essence of man must be the key aspect, because although it is true it is the consequence of labor alienation, it is the direct source of the capitalist system. Therefore, in Marx' view, the alienation of the essence of man and the sublation of this alienation constitute the process of the emergence and abolition of capitalism, and the sublation of that alienation means the realization of communism. Marx said: "Communism is the positive sublation of private property--the self-alienation of man, and is therefore, a true possession of the essence of man through men and for men. Therefore, (?communism) is the restoration of man as the man of society and as the man whose nature conforms to the original nature of man. This kind of restoration is thorough and conscious and it retains all the abundant achievements of the previous development." (p 73) Why will the alienated essence of man be restored? What is the motive force for this process? Marx failed to give definite answers to these questions. It seems that Marx regards the negation of negation as the motive force. Marx said: "The greatness of Hegel's 'Phenomenologie des Geistes' and its final achievement--the dialectics, as a theory of the negation of the principle of

motivation and the principle of creation--lies in that Hegel regarded the self-creation of man as a process, objectification as nonobjectification and externalization as the sublation of externalization." (p 116) Marx thought that in the process of the development of the essence of man, the sublation that combines negation with preservation--affirmation--plays a unique role. (p 125)

The above is the basic ideas of the theory of the alienation of labor which Marx put forward in his "Manuscripts." How should we evaluate this theory? Can we regard Marx' theory on alienation as a scientific theory about the law governing the development of human society? I think we cannot. At best, this theory depicts in the languages of Hegel and Feuerbach the theory on social development that was budding in his mind. It seemed that Marx tried hard to disclose the internal contradictions in the economic system in order to expound the inevitability of the emergence of communist society. This was undoubtedly a correct orientation. However, as he had not yet been completely freed from the influence of Hegel's speculative philosophy and Feuerbach's humanism, he could not put forth a mature scientific theory. Why?

a. The methods he used to understand the essence of man were still those used by Feuerbach. He often said that "man is an existence in a genre" and that every man has the "characteristics of the genre." Here, his starting point was an individual man, but not an individual man who is under certain social relations. This was precisely the concept of "absolutely--isolated--individual of the human race" and the "internal, silent...general character" which he later criticized in his "Outline on Feuerbach." This made him observe social development from the angle of man as individual rather than from the angle of the sum of all social relationships. As a result, he regarded the development of human society as the result of the alienation of the essence of man as individual and the sublation of the alienation. In both his "Manuscripts" and other works before the "Manuscripts" Marx touched on the social nature of man and the inseparable relations between man and society, but as his understanding of these relations was relatively abstract and, particularly, as he had not yet clearly understood the one-sidedness of humanism in methodology, he was unable to free himself entirely from the restriction of the abstract theory of human nature.

b. Marx reversed the true relationship between the alienation of labor and private ownership and regarded the former as a more basic factor than the latter, thus he confused the source of the alienation of labor. Later, Marx gave a scientific explanation for this problem and treated the emergence of the division of labor in production and of private ownership as the source of exploitation and classes and the development of the productive force as the source for the division of labor in production and private ownership. These are correct views. In classifying the four links of the alienation of labor, it seems that he objectified the process of cognizance in the same manner as Hegel. From the alienation of labor to the alienation of man from man is, in fact, a process of the deepening of cognizance. This means the understanding about the source of labor alienation deepens step by step. First we realize that the alienation of labor

activities is the source of the alienation of the products of labor. Second, we realize that the alienation of the essence of man is the source of the alienation of labor activities. Finally, we realize that private ownership is the source of the alienation of the essence of man. However, Marx mistook this process of cognizance as an objective process and thus reversed the true relationships.

c. The exposition on the restoration of the essence of man is of the nature of speculative philosophy and humanism. The restoration of the essence of man is, in other words, the sublation of the essence of man. Why is an alienation not capable of reversal and why should it be restored? This is a demand resulting from the essence of man; for an alienation is abnormal and temporary. This idea imbued the theory of alienation with a strong color of humanism. Marx' scientific theory later was entirely founded on the analysis and synthesis of large amounts of economic facts. Only by so doing was he finally free from the influence of speculative philosophy and humanism.

In short, I think that it is wrong simply to regard Marx' theory of alienation as an important, or even a key part of Marxism. However it is also a simplifying and one-sided view to regard this theory as a mixture of Hegel's speculative philosophy and Feuerbach's humanism. Anyway Marx had already been markedly different from Hegel and Feuerbach in striving to proceed from economic facts in searching for the objective law governing the development of human society. Marx' theory on alienation (?changed) in the course of the formation of Marxism, therefore, it inevitably has a dual nature.

## II. On Humanitarianism and Communism

Regarding class antagonism as the result of the alienation of the essence of man and communism as the restoration of this essence is humanitarianism and utopian communism rather than scientific communism. Through restriction and reform, some of the basic views of humanitarianism can be included in the theory of communism, but we cannot regard communism as being derived from humanitarianism.

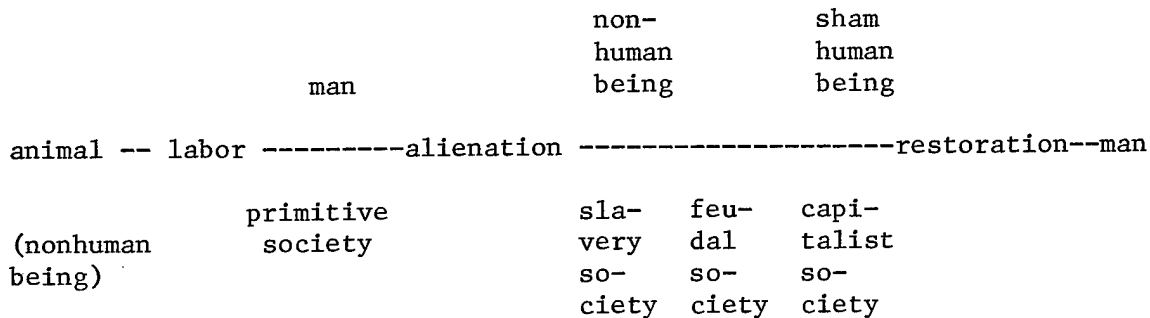
Humanitarianism is a bourgeois ideology. Though it played a positive and progressive role in the struggle against feudalism, as a kind of conception of history, it is idealist in nature. Along with the development of history, humanitarianism has gradually displayed its limited and hypocritical nature. Some of its principles, such as its views that every individual is an independent entity and has his own goal, that equality between individuals and the right of freedom for individuals should be respected, that the value of man should be respected and that man should be treated as man rather than the tools of other men, Marxists can agree with if these principles are applied within a certain scope. In fact, these principles have already been fully displayed in our policies and practical activities and are called revolutionary humanitarianism. In wars, we do not maltreat prisoners of war, and treat them humanitarily. In our prisons, we do not insult criminals and treat them humanely. Our hospitals give the same treatment to patients, according to the nature of the illness, without



inquiring into the patients' family background and political inclination. We respect women and old people and cherish children. All these manifest our humanitarianism. Of course, these practices conform to the basic interests of the people, but we cannot say that they are devoid of humanitarian factors. Communism upholds the liberation of the whole human race as well as of the working class and the laboring people and radically opposes all exploitation, oppression and domination. Judging from this, we are not wrong to say that communism is humanitarian in nature.

However, we should never generally confuse the two concepts and treat communism as being identical to humanitarianism or as being the highest, most thorough and truest form of humanitarianism; for the two differ in principle.

True, the communist theory in Marx' "Manuscripts" indeed contains some humanitarian theory. He himself clearly said, "Communism is the humanism that displays itself through the media of the sublation of private property." (p 127) Here, by humanism, he meant humanitarianism. The basic viewpoint of this theory is that the history of the transition of human society from capitalism into communism is the history of the restoration of the lost essence of man. Some comrades regard this viewpoint as a theory on the social history of the whole human race and vividly show it in the following diagram:



From the point of view of the essence of man, human society is obviously the fundamental principle of this theory and communist society is nothing but the full manifestation of the essence of man. However, this view can only be regarded as one that Marx believed in the course of his transition into a Marxist. Some Western scholars obstinately assert that only this idea was really Marx' view and the real Marxist view and that later Marx and Marxism degenerated and gave up this view. These scholars' view obviously is characterized by class prejudice and political intention and can hardly be regarded as a serious academic view. Some scholars are of the opinion that we should not oversimplify the problem and regard the "Manuscripts" as an immature piece of Marx' works written in Marx' early years, but we should realize that from this book, we cannot only trace the process of Marx' transition from being a humanist into being a Marxist, but can also learn many positive views. This is an attitude of seeking truth from facts. However the difference of principle between humanitarianism and communism still cannot be denied. There are the following reasons for this:

1. In a humanitarianist's view, man is an isolated and abstract individual, but in a Marxist's view, man is an individual who is under the influence of the sum of his specific social relations. Marx mentioned this difference in his "German Ideology" as well as in his "Outline on Feuerbach." For example, he said: "What Feuerbach talked about is 'man himself as an entity' rather than a 'man in his specific real historical surroundings.'" ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 48) Feuerbach "fails to observe people in the light of their existing social relations and in the light of the living conditions around them that have made them appear as they are." (Ibid., p 50)

Therefore, humanitarianism focuses its attention on man as an individual and as an abstract man, while Marxism focuses on man as a concrete or real man and as a man in his specific social relations and as a member of a class in a class society. In his "German Ideology," Marx clearly points out that in a class society, "the social relations formed by the individuals of a certain class and conditioned by their common interests in opposing another class always form these individuals into a collective to which an ordinary individual only serves as a subordinate. The reason these individuals are subordinate to that collective is only because they are living in the position of their class. They live in such social relations not as independent individuals but as members of their class." (Ibid., p 84)

2. Humanitarianism regards the development of history as the process of the development of individuals and history as the history of individuals. Naturally, Marxism does not deny that history is the history of individuals, but it holds that history is, first of all, the history of the collectives, classes and groups of people formed by individuals under their specific social relations, the history of the development of production, of economic development, of political activities and of class struggle; in short, a history of human society rather than that of individuals. In his "German Ideology," Marx criticized humanitarianists and said: "Philosophers see the ideal of what they call 'man' in the individuals who have no longer submitted to the division of labor. They regard the whole process of development we have described as the process of the development of 'man' and substitute this 'man' for the individuals who existed in all the historical periods in the past and describe this 'man' as the motive force of history. As a result, the whole process of history is regarded as the process of the alienation of 'man' himself. In fact, this is because they always substitute the common man in the later stage for that in a previous stage and imbue the individuals in the past with the ideology of the people of later generations. Because of this practice of putting the cart before the horse, that is because of the practice of publicly abandoning real conditions, the whole of history is treated as the process of the development of ideology." (Ibid., p 77) This passage sounds as if Marx is criticizing his own views in his "Manuscripts." The humanitarianist conception of history is after all an idealist one. Though the "Manuscripts" analyzes economic problems, in its conclusions, it attributes the problems of economic systems to the alienation of the essence of man. However, Marx later turned from this path and attributed the problems related to individuals and groups of people to the problems of production and of the economic system.

3. The humanitarianist conception of history also runs counter to historical facts. Of course it is a method we can use to describe exploitation, and the practice of it, in a sense as the alienation of man. However, extending the idea of the alienation of man into a conception of history and describing the development of history as in the diagram we have given in the previous passages will make us unable to correctly evaluate the historical position of class societies. The theory of alienation does have some positive aspects and the sublation of alienation upheld by that theory is one of them, but generally speaking, the stage of alienation is a nonhuman stage and a sham human stage, that is a stage when human beings are similar to animals. However, human civilization began with the slavery society and the development of the productive force in class societies, especially in the capitalist society exceeds that of the past by tens of thousands of times. True, without the slow development of the past, there would never have been the development of today, but we cannot say that a man was a human being before the class society and that no men in class societies are human. This would be an absurd assertion. From today's point of view, the humanitarianism in a primitive society is not necessarily better than that in a class society.

4. Humanitarianism is also a weak weapon to be used to explain the current social phenomena or to guide us in carrying out our activities. The cruel activities of the fascists, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did go against humanitarianism, but violation of humanitarianism is only a very weak reason to condemn them. Would their activities have been acceptable if they had not violated humanitarianism? Never. We should carry out education in humanitarianism among our youth, some of whom, indeed, do not even care much about humanitarianism. But is this enough? Can education in humanitarianism become the main part of our ideological education? Can it replace that in Marxism?

### III. On the Alienation in a Socialist Society

Are there any phenomena of alienation in a socialist society? This is a question on which the "Manuscripts" has evoked widespread debate. What questions should we clarify first here? Is it the question of whether there is, after all, any alienation of labor in a socialist society or that of whether there is any alienation in a socialist society?

In its broad sense, alienation means estrangement, externalization, differentiation, objectification and so on. This, in fact, means one dividing into two, or in other words, a being divided up and minus a emerging from A. There are quite a few such examples, such as mothers bearing children, peasants growing crops and workers turning out products. All these can be regarded as alienation. However, in its narrow sense, alienation means not only differentiation but also the emergence of an alien force as a result of the differentiation. For example, parents bringing up a disobedient son, forests being destroyed or lake bottoms being reclaimed for farming. Obviously, alienation even in the narrow sense is unavoidable and will occur in any society, let alone that in the broad sense. It is inconceivable for a communist society, much less a socialist one, to be free of any phenomena

of alienation. When people have committed a mistake, an evil result against will occur their desire. [as published] Inappropriate education will result in some students undermining social order and committing crimes. Inappropriate production will cause the environment to be polluted, thus harming people's health. Indiscriminate capturing and killing of birds and animals will undermine the ecological equilibrium and bring about serious evils. Unplanned parenthood will result in excessive increase in population, which will hinder social development. As long as people cannot completely overcome the blindness in their activities, alienation of such an antagonistic nature will inevitably occur. However, the human race can only continuously heighten its consciousness in its activities. It can never completely overcome the blindness in its activities; therefore, it is impossible to completely eliminate alienation. From this, we can draw the conclusion that we should always be on our guard against the phenomenon of alienation and promptly reduce and alleviate them. Applying the concept of "alienation" to a socialist society is of both theoretical and practical significance. However, the phenomenon of alienation is not equivalent to the alienation of labor expounded by Marx. The existence of the phenomenon of alienation will never lead to the conclusion that alienation of labor exists in a socialist society.

Judging by the above-cited [words illegible] labor is, in fact, a way to show the fact that the capitalists grab the workers' surplus value and that the workers are exploited by the capitalists. We can even say that this is a vivid method of description. Using the phenomenon of alienation to expound exploitation will, undoubtedly, give people a very vivid and impressive image and enable them to really understand how bitterly the workers are exploited. However, in the end, this cannot replace the scientific exposition and proof that Marx put forward later [words illegible] that what Marx called alienation of labor or labor alienation has its specific meaning, which cannot be extended literally. Literally, the above-mentioned labor that undermines ecological equilibrium can also be called alienation of labor, but this is, by no means, the alienation of labor in Marx' sense. Of course, there are also factors of the economic system that have given rise to the labor that undermines the ecological equilibrium, but this is in the main a problem of cognizance and a problem concerning the relations between man and nature. On the other hand, what Marx called alienation of labor is purely a problem of the economic system and one concerning the relations between men and men. Is there then any alienation of labor in Marx' sense in a socialist society?

This question is in fact a question that we have often discussed, namely, is there exploitation in a socialist society? Or is there any exploiting class there? To this question, Stalin gave his answer a few decades ago and our party Central Committee has time and again given its answer today. In our country's socialist society, "after the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, class struggle has no longer been a principal contradiction. Because of the existence of some domestic factors and international influence, class struggle will exist within a certain scope for a long time and may become acute under certain conditions." ("Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Certain Questions in the History of the Party Since the

Founding of the PRC") Translated into terms of alienation, I think that this problem can be expounded as follows: A socialist system itself is free from alienation of labor. Socialism itself means the elimination of exploitation and the exploiting class, the abolition of the system of private ownership which is the source of the exploitation system and the elimination of the alienation of labor. As soon as the socialist transformation is completed, the exploiting class will be wiped out. How can there be exploitation since the exploiting class is wiped out? How can there be alienation of labor? However, as a concrete society, a socialist society cannot be exactly 100 percent pure; therefore, it is impossible to thoroughly eliminate exploitation and the alienation of labor, especially in the initial period after the founding of a socialist society.

In a socialist society, though as a class the exploiting class has already been wiped out, remnant exploiting elements will exist for some time and in some crannies, new exploiting elements such as grafters, embezzlers, speculators and profiteers may emerge. Under this condition, it is impossible to completely eliminate alienation of labor or covert alienation of labor. This is especially true in the case of the ideological manifestation of the alienation of labor. That is, exploitation ideology will continue to exist for a long time and in a widespread manner. For example, the idea of benefiting oneself at the expense of others, the idea that pursues privilege, bureaucratic ideas and other ideology of the old exploiting classes. Of course, along with the development of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations, the phenomenon of alienation of labor will gradually die out and will finally be thoroughly eliminated in a communist society.

In conclusion, there are at least three aspects of meaning in the phenomenon of alienation in a socialist society. 1) It is itself a contradiction and as a synonym of contradiction, alienation naturally exists everywhere and at any time. Even a communist society will be full of contradictions, let alone a socialist one. 2) It is itself a contradiction of an antagonistic nature; for because of the mistakes in cognizance and practice, things that are originally nonantagonistic will become of an antagonistic nature and thus emerges the alienation of an antagonistic nature. 3) It is itself a class contradiction. In a socialist society, it is the remnant element of the old system and may expand and sharpen under certain conditions. However, as a general trend, it will ease up day by day and finally die out. I do not oppose using the concept of alienation to express certain phenomena in a socialist society, but we should not use this concept in an indiscriminate manner. Particularly we should not use it at will without being aware of its real meaning. An indiscriminate use of this concept will only cause ideological confusion.

CSO: 4005/750

PARTY AND STATE

TIANJIN'S LI RUIHUAN ON CITY REFORM

HK140916 Beijing JINGJI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 83 p 1

[Report by Shi Jihuan [0670 4949 1403]: "Tianjin Mayor Li Ruihuan Says That Due to Its Specific Feature, City Reform Should Be Differentiated From That in Rural Areas"]

[Text] "We should carry out city reform by referring to the successful experiences gained in the agricultural reform, and never overlook the fact that urban areas are different from rural areas, as is industry different from agriculture. One of the key links in carrying out city reform in good order is to conduct studies and to make clear the different characteristics existing between them." So said Tianjin Mayor Li Ruihuan when speaking on reforms at the 10th municipal people's congress on city reform on 5 April.

The different characteristics are as follows:

1. A city is a densely populated area with an elaborate division of labor. Its inhabitants depend on money income to buy commodities, and they rely very much on society. Therefore, city reform should be carried out in a meticulous and planned way. While raising economic results in a unit's reform, we should on no account lower the normal level of the inhabitants' living standards or affect the interests of the broad section of the masses.
2. A city is characterized by a high level of coordination among specialized departments. If a department lags behind in the coordination, then the normal process of other departments and even the entire social economy will be affected. This calls for close link and coordination among departments in the reform.
3. A city is an economic center. If the reform is not carried out in a satisfactory manner, it will affect the national economy and the people's livelihood. We should work out an overall plan to carry out reforms in cities and industry and strive to avoid economic disorder throughout the country caused by certain units going wrong in reform.
4. Fund accumulation provided by a city constitutes a decisive factor in the state revenue. Each step taken in the reforms should ensure more revenue to the state.

5. Great differences of productive force levels and production relations exist in the city's different departments and enterprises. This complicated feature calls for various forms to be adopted in city reform.

6. City reform and industrial reform, in particular, are to a relatively great extent limited by the existing state system and policies. Therefore, we should pay attention to carrying out the reforms in some important aspects in a harmonious manner.

7. A complete corresponding organizational structure, habits and customs and value concept have been formed in the present city economic management system, though ill effects of the system have been noticed by the people. To break down this convention and adopt a new economic management system, great efforts should be made to promote people's understanding and to change their habits and customs.

8. Objectively, because of historical reasons, we have acquired a better understanding of the rural situation and agricultural production than that of the urban situation and industrial production. There are still many things which we do not know. This requires that city and industrial reform be effected through investigations and step by step.

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PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING RADIO, TV INTERVIEW HU NA'S FAMILY

Beijing Radio

OW081321 Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 0900 GMT 8 Apr 83

[Interview with family of Hu Na, defected PRC tennis player, by station reporter: "Accusations by Hu Na's Family Members"]

[Text] Disregarding the repeated representations by the Chinese Government and her parents' earnest hope for the early return of their lovely daughter, the U.S. Government flagrantly made a decision counter to legal principles and human feelings to grant so-called political asylum to Chinese tennis player Hu Na and announced the decision on 4 April. What do Hu Na's parents, sister and brother think of this at this time? This station reporter has interviewed them. The following is the interview, entitled: "Accusations by Hu Na's Family Members":

Hu Na's family lives in Chengdu city, the capital of Sichuan Province in southwest China. When this reporter entered her house, the first thing I saw was a big color picture of Hu Na wearing a tennis cap and outfit and holding a tennis racket, which hung in the middle of a wall. The cups won by Hu Na in singles, doubles and mixed doubles matches during international tennis tournaments held in Mexico, Hawaii and Hong Kong were still placed on the top of a cabinet.

An accountant of the Sichuan Provincial Physical Culture and Sports Commission, Hu Na's mother, Wen Ruying, now stayed at home and kept in seclusion. Wen Ruying's eyes were red and swollen. At my mention of Hu Na, tears trickled down her cheeks. She told this reporter: Hu Na has been away from me for 8 months. I miss her all the time. I saw with my own eyes how she became a tennis player with the care and assistance of our country's sports departments concerned. I can never forget the joy and sense of pride she displayed every time she returned home from abroad after winning matches and honor for the motherland. But who could ever think that she would not yet have returned home after participating in a tennis tournament in the United States last July? Every day, I eagerly await her return. As her mother, my heart is almost broken. Hu Na was invited by the United States to participate in a tennis tournament there, and the United States has the obligation to send her back to the motherland so that my family can



be reunited. But the U.S. Government has now flagrantly made this decision that is offensive to heaven and to reason, at which we are extremely indignant.

Hu Yunfu, Hu Na's father and a basketball coach in the Chengdu PLA units, indignantly told this reporter: My whole family were extremely indignant when we heard the news on 4 April that the U.S. Government had granted so-called political asylum to my daughter Hu Na. My whole family wants to lodge a protest with the U.S. Government. My daughter Hu Na had since childhood received loving care and education from the party and the state. She was brought up with the particular care and assistance of the sports departments concerned. She had been sent abroad to participate in major tennis tournaments many times. Every time when she returned home from abroad, she invariably showed to us her deep feelings for the party and the state. She often told us that all the progress she had made in tennis was inseparable from the assistance of the party organization and the comrades concerned. Obviously, there was no question of political persecution against my child Hu Na. The U.S. Government has no grounds or reason whatsoever to grant so-called political asylum to my daughter. The U.S. Government must send my daughter back to me.

Hu Na's elder sister and younger brother have deep affection for her. They miss her very much. Hu Shan, Hu Na's elder sister, was assigned last July to work on the Sichuan Provincial Physical Culture and Sports Commission. She said: The good results my younger sister achieved in international tennis tournaments abroad were inseparable from the care of the party and the state and the assistance of her coaches. I do not think she will forget all this. I know full well that she ardently loves her motherland and her family members. During the past 8 months since she left us, the government and comrades have shown increasing concern for our family. I now serve on the provincial physical culture and sports commission. I eagerly await my younger sister's return at an early date.

Hu Bo, Hu Na's 14-year-old brother, is now taking training as an amateur tennis player in Sichuan Province. He is prepared to participate in a national tennis tournament scheduled for next May. He earnestly hopes that his elder sister will return home and coach him in tennis. He said: My elder sister has been away from us for more than 8 months. During this period, the party organization has shown great concern for me. I persistently take tennis training every day. My coach and other amateur tennis players are very much concerned about me. I am now training myself very hard. How wonderful it would be if my elder sister could return home and coach me in tennis.

Through the interview, this reporter has understood that this family of athletes used to live a very happy life. However, the inhuman decision of the U.S. Government has caused this family to suffer from the anguish of being separated from their loved one. This is an immensely traumatic experience for them. The statements made by them are an effective exposure of and accusations against the U.S. Government's lies and its irrational decision.

## Beijing TV Interview

HK081330 Beijing Domestic Television Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Apr 83

[Text] According to a report by Sichuan TV reporter (Gao Jianling), following a strong protest lodged by the Chinese Foreign Ministry against the U.S. Government for granting the so-called political asylum to Chinese tennis player Hu Na on 4 April, while they were interviewed by a TV reporter at their residence in Chengdu on 7 April, Hu Na's parents, elder sister and younger brother strongly demanded that the U.S. Government send Hu Na back to China immediately, so that all members of the family would reunite.

[Question] [Begin videotape recording of interview] The U.S. Government has granted Hu Na the so-called political asylum; what is your view on this matter?

[Hu Yunfu (Hu Na's father)] After hearing the news that the U.S. Government granted Hu Na the so-called political asylum on 4 April, all members of my family were extremely indignant over this matter. The party and the government showed concern for my daughter in every possible way since her childhood. In particular thanks to the education and help given by leaders in sports departments and coaches, she made rapid progress. Our country sent her to take part in various competitions held in foreign countries on several occasions and she scored fairly good marks. Therefore, my daughter has profound feelings for the party, our country and the Chinese people. We maintain that the so-called political asylum granted by the U.S. Government is a gross lie. This is a conspiracy played by a handful of Americans in collaboration with the Taiwan elements.

[Question] Our government has issued a statement and lodged a strong protest against the U.S. Government for the so-called political asylum; what is your view on this issue?

[Hu Yunfu] All members of my family resolutely support the strong protest lodged by our government against the U.S. Government. We hope that the United States will attach importance to the friendly relations between the two countries and send our daughter back so that our family will reunite soon.

[Wen Ruying (Hu Na's mother)] Our daughter Hu Na has been away from us for more than 8 months. Over the past few months, I missed her the entire time. My daughter has very good relations with her family members. We love her very much and she also loves her family. She is now in the United States and our family is separated. In particular, as a mother, I feel aggrieved and sad. The party and the state showed concern for and trained my daughter since her childhood. She has profound feelings for our country and her family. I hope that she will come back soon so that our family will be able to reunite. I also hope that the U.S. Government will send her back to me as early as possible. [end videotape recording]

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'HEBEI RIBAO' ON DISCIPLINE INSPECTION WORK

HK070229 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Mar 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Mobilize the Whole Party and Open up a New Situation in Discipline Inspection Work"]

[Text] The fourth party discipline inspection work conference held by the provincial CPC committee ended successfully. The conference was earnestly communicated and carried out the spirit of the second plenary session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and has, proceeding from the reality of the province, made concrete arrangements on rectifying party style, enforcing party discipline and strengthening discipline inspection work. All participating comrades have unanimously expressed that they will earnestly carry out several things this year to make rapid progress in the party style and party discipline and to strive for a basic turn for the better in the party style at an early date.

The 12th CPC Congress firmly affirmed Comrade Chen Yun's thesis that "the issue of the style of a ruling party is a matter of life and death to the party." Holding power is a severe test to every party member. If party-member cadres use the power endowed on them by the people to seek personal interests, they will divorce themselves from the masses, resulting in the degeneration and corruption of the party. If our party style is impure, we cannot correctly implement the party's line, guiding principles and policies, party organizations cannot play the role of a leading core, people's enthusiasm for socialism cannot be fully aroused and the four modernizations cannot be smoothly carried out. We must understand the great significance of striving for a basic change for the better in the party style from a high political plane and we must realize and eliminate unhealthy practices from a high plane of world outlook.

The CPC Central Committee has already explicitly formulated policies and made arrangements to achieve the basic turn for the better in the party style. The 12th CPC Congress has called for achieving the basic turn for the better in the party style within 5 years. After promulgating the "rules," the CPC Central Committee has formulated a good party constitution and a good constitution administering the state and giving it security, thus providing us with a powerful ideological weapon for rectifying our party style. Our party's basic stand of wholeheartedly serving the people

determines that our party possesses the powerful and healthy strength to eliminate all evil trends and unhealthy practices. We must also see that unhealthy practices are unlawful within the party and those who carry out unhealthy practices constitute a minority and are very isolated. Facts in our province have proven that in places where unhealthy practices exist, there also exists healthy strength fighting against them. The broad masses inside and outside the party have now greatly raised their consciousness and abilities in discerning and resisting various unhealthy practices. Under such favorable conditions, if we still lack confidence in eliminating unhealthy practices or remain indifferent, that will not be merely a problem of general understanding. We must firmly believe that our party's fine tradition and excellent style will certainly defeat unhealthy practices and our party will certainly become more consolidated, stronger and more mature in the struggle against various erroneous ideological styles.

Righting the party style is an important task for the whole party and the key lies in the importance attached by party committees. Due to that the influence of 10-year internal disorder has not yet been thoroughly eliminated and the influence of nonproletarian ideology, there indeed exist within the party problems of impure ideology, style and organizations and the problems of unhealthy practice and violating laws and discipline in some places are very serious. To resolve these problems, party committees at all levels must, apart from resolutely supporting discipline inspection commissions to carry out the work, mobilize all forces within the party. No 1 and No 2 leading comrades of party committees must personally grasp the work, promote party organizations at all levels to firmly grasp the work, rely on inspection discipline commissions, a professional contingent, to grasp the work and mobilize the vast number of party members to fight against evil trends and unhealthy practices. With the above points, it is possible to create a situation of the whole party grasping the problem of the party style. Party committees at all levels must have a strong sense of urgency and grasp every minute to properly carry out the work. They must do a good job in the following three: 1) Put the inspection of political discipline above all so as to guarantee the smooth progress of building four modernizations; 2) continue to carry out the struggle against economic crimes and never relax their efforts; concentrate efforts on dealing with important and major cases and raise the percentage of settlement of cases; 3) some major problems existing among leading cadres of institutions above county levels, such as the unhealthy practices of building and distributing houses, "changing agricultural household registration to nonagricultural household registration" and unlawful placement of their sons, daughters, relatives and friends, should be resolved before the end of June so as to make new leading bodies have "new people, new style and new appearance." The responsibility system must be established and perfected in the field of the party style. Party committees, party groups, party general branches and party branches must be completely responsible for the problem of party style in their own units and departments. No 1 and No 2 leading comrades must, while uprighing their own party style, grasp the problem of uprighing the party style of whole leading bodies. If leaders of a unit or place cannot promptly discover or upright unhealthy practices in their own areas and units, party committees of the units or areas should bear

responsibilities. If it is found that they gave unprincipled protection, covered up evil deeds and encouraged unhealthy practices, they should be thoroughly investigated and severely dealt with. Provided that party committees attach importance to it, the whole party is mobilized, leaders take the initiatives and everyone assumes his responsibility, various evil trends and unhealthy practices will find no place to hide.

To improve the party style, not only must party committees firmly grasp the work, but they must also be good models in this respect. If they cannot set good examples themselves, they will certainly make no achievements. Being good models themselves certainly has something to do with their impartial and honest behavior. If they are not impartial and honest, they must first of all become impartial and honest themselves. No 1 and No 2 leading comrades must rectify their own party style, rectify the party style of leading core and take the initiative and leading power in grasping the party style. Fuping County CPC Committee has gained an experience, namely, "setting good examples by being good models themselves." They have resolved problems within the county CPC committee by setting good examples themselves. As they set good examples themselves, they were confident and unafraid to deal with thorny problems. In a short period of 10-odd days, some evil deeds which people had strong opposition to were eliminated, thoroughly changing social mood of the whole country. This indicates that provided party organizations at all levels are upright and determined, and do not lose confidence when meeting difficulties and obstructions, rapid achievements can be made in uprighting the party style. Our cause is marching forward. Under the situation of rapid development, leading bodies of some party organizations are not allowed to be lax and weak any more. Being weak is an act verging on dereliction of duty. We must remove the fear of difficulties, change "fearing" to "daring" and change "weak" to "powerful." Thus, we can truly grasp the party style, not merely pay lip service. Provided party organizations at all levels and the vast number of Communist Party members set good examples themselves, those who engage in unhealthy practices will find no place to hide, the party's leadership will become stronger and the grand undertaking for the four modernizations will develop more prosperously.

Over the past year, discipline inspection departments at all levels in our province have done plenty of work and scored remarkable achievements, much gratifying to the masses. After this conference, we have raised our consciousness and strengthened our sense of responsibility and urgency in carrying out discipline inspection work. We must, by taking advantage of the convocation of this conference, carry out discipline inspection work in a better and more effective way so as to create a new situation in the province's discipline inspection work in the new year.

CSO: 4005/750

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI DEMANDS GOOD ORDER AMONG PETITIONERS

HK070638 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 29 Mar 83

[Excerpts] The Hebei Provincial People's Government issued a circular on 25 March reiterating the maintenance of good order in the work of receiving people's letters and visits. The circular said: In order to preserve good order in society and in the party and government organs, strengthen the work of receiving people's letters and visits, and ensure the democratic rights of those masses concerned and the smooth progress of handling their letters and visits, the provincial government issued a notice on 15 December 1981 on maintaining good order in the work of receiving letters and visits. Since that time, the majority of visitors appealing to higher authority for help have observed discipline and acted in the spirit of the notice.

However, recently some of these people have violated the spirit of the notice, failed to observe discipline, and even burst into the organs, blocked the entrances, jammed traffic and acted in deliberately provocative ways. They have thus interfered with the proper democratic rights of the majority of visitors appealing to higher authority and also affected work order in the party and government organs.

The circular demanded: Visitors appealing to higher authority must spontaneously observe state laws and decrees and the relevant regulations. They must state their problems in a truth-seeking way, avoid being contacted and incited by others and refrain from doing illegal things. They are not allowed to gather at the entrances of party and government organs, block the doorways and jam the traffic. Still less may they enter the organs at will. Violators will first be admonished and educated. Those who do not heed this will be dealt with by the local public security organs in accordance with the law and the relevant regulations.

The circular stressed: Those very few visitors appealing to higher authority for help who behave in a deliberately provocative way, forcibly enter the courtyards of leading party and government organs, disturb order, occupy offices, intercept vehicles, sabotage public business, make contacts and incite collective petitioning, create incidents, and beat up work personnel will be warned, summoned to court, given administrative detention or labor education, or arrested by the local public security departments acting in accordance with the relevant state laws and decrees.

CSO: 4005/750

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI CPC DISCIPLINE INSPECTION CONFERENCE ENDS

HK040449 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Mar 83 p 1

[Report: "Fourth Provincial Party Discipline Inspection Work Conference Closes"]

[Text] The fourth provincial party discipline inspection work conference came to a successful conclusion on 18 March after 7 days. Under the leadership of the provincial CPC committee and the personal guidance of leading comrades of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, and through the concerted efforts of all comrades present, the meeting was a complete success and achieved the hoped-for results.

Taking the expositions of Comrades Hu Yaobang and Deng Xiaoping on the subject of reform as its guiding ideology, the meeting earnestly studied the relevant central documents and the spirit of the second plenary session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Emphasis was laid on discussion of Comrade Cao Youmin's report "Earnestly Implement the Spirit of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, Strive To Effect a Fundamental Turn for the Better in Our Party Style as Soon as Possible." The comrades attending came to realize that the significance of achieving a fundamental turn for the better in party style had to be understood from the high plane of politics; that the rectification of party style and the enforcement of party discipline was the responsibility of the whole party, and must be grasped by the whole party; that the emphasis of discipline inspection work must be shifted from investigating and dealing with cases to rectifying party style; that in grasping political discipline, work should be shifted from guaranteeing the smooth progress of the bringing of order out of chaos to ensuring that of the four modernizations and the reform; and that this work must be approached with a high level of understanding and by checking unhealthy tendencies. In the course of intensive discussion and study, everyone related the situations of all the various regions and sectors, and thus achieved a new understanding of the importance and urgency of grasping party style. The comrades said that after the meeting, the new understanding gained from it must become the understanding of the whole party, so that the tasks and demands raised at the meeting would be carried out and implemented properly, achievements made and a new situation created in the province's discipline inspection work.

At the closing session on the meeting, the attending comrades listened carefully to the important speeches of Provincial Secretary Comrade Gao Zhanxiang and Deputy Secretary Comrade Xing Chongzhi.

Speaking on the subject of propagating the meeting's spirit and arranging this year's discipline inspection work properly, Comrade Gao Zhanxiang demanded that the comrades, after their return, should propagate the spirit of the meeting in prefectural, city and county CPC committees and in all organs directly under the provincial authorities, earnestly implement it, and work hard to make it into a reality.

Representing the provincial CPC committee, Comrade Xing Chongzhi made the following four points: First, this meeting had gone well and made good achievements; second, it had heightened the sense of responsibility and urgency with regard to bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in the party style as soon as possible; third, it was an important indication of the state of the party style, and in assessing the work of CPC committees; and fourth, it had raised the fighting strength of the contingent of discipline inspection committees.

Apart from the participating comrades, attending the conference were secretaries and deputy secretaries of party committees from all general government offices, departments, committees, offices and bureaus directly under the provincial authorities.

CSO: 4005/750



## PARTY AND STATE

### WRITER SAYS HISTORICAL PLAY SHOWS NEED FOR UNITY

HK063047 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Apr 83 p 8

[Article by Yan Hansheng [7122 5060 4563]: "Writing Before 'The Spring and Autumn Annals of the Heavenly Kingdom' Is Presented to the Public Again"]

[Text] The play "The Spring and Autumn Annals of the Heavenly Kingdom" was written in 1941, when the second cooperation between the KMT and the CPC was on the verge of breaking up after the southern Anhui incident which shocked the country and the whole world had taken place. The well-known saying by Zhou Enlai, our revered vice chairman: "Why should the people who live in the same house so fiercely fight each other?" is the gist of this play, which I wrote.

This play has drawn its material from the history of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. My purpose was to reflect the reality at that time. Although history never repeats itself, however, history is similar to reality in certain aspects. Whenever I recall the time when this drama was first presented to the public in Chongqing, the mountain city, which was then enveloped in White terror, and the warm response of the audience, I can still hear the loud and fervent applause....

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was a peasant movement which was of an unprecedentedly large scale in Chinese history. The movement swept across half of the country and the peasants dominated the political scene for 14 years. This is something rare in Chinese history. The movement was similar to all previous peasant movements in that it could not free itself from the historical limitations of the peasantry but forfeited the fruits of the victory in its hands in the glint and flash of cold steel of domestic conflict. History, which is cemented with blood, tells us that: Without the leadership of the proletariat, China's peasants movements can definitely not be successful.

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom movement wrote a glorious chapter of Chinese history. The experience of its struggle and the lesson drawn from its failure represented a valuable treasure to the coming generations of revolutionaries. "When a formidable enemy is standing before us, we should not kill each other." Should we not always bear in mind the tragic historical lesson left by the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom?

Today, the comrades of the Central Theatrical Institute are presenting this play to the public again. Naturally, the significance of this presentation is different from that of the first presentation 42 years ago because the times are different. Under the leadership of our party, we have learned the meaning of unity from the lessons left by history. At present, spurred on by the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, people of all nationalities of the whole country have risen with force and spirit and are striving to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. If we can learn some modern history through this play, it is beneficial to our building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization.

March 1983, Beijing

CSO: 4005/750

## PARTY AND STATE

### FORUM HELD ON ACHIEVEMENTS, PROBLEMS OF REPORTAGE

HK040859 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Li Qingyu [2621 1987 1342]: "Develop Creativity in Reportage To Portray the Great Times--SHIDAI DE BAOGAO Editorial Department Holds Forum"]

[Text] On 15 March, the editorial department of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO invited some leading comrades in literary and art circles and responsible comrades of some newspapers and magazines to attend a forum. All the participants have their ideas on the achievements and problems of current reportage creation and on how to further develop it.

#### The Times Need Reportage

All participants held that after its change of layout, SHIDAI DE BAOGAO has taken on a new look, and welcomed and supported by its readers. It is absolutely necessary to have a magazine of reportage among so many literary magazines throughout the country. Liu Baiyu held that the reasons reportage is so popular in China are as follows: 1) The existence in Chinese literature of an age-old literary tradition relatively similar to the form of reportage; 2) the influence of progressive foreign reportage; and 3) the needs of the times, which is the most important. Without the needs of the times, there will be no reportage. This explains why Zhu Ziqing, the author of "Moonlight by the Lotus Pond," wrote "A Record of the Massacre of the Duan Qirui Government"; why Lu Xun wrote "In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen"; why He Qifang, skillful in writing poems and essays, wrote reportage during the anti-Japanese war and why so many novelists wrote reportage. We are now living in the great era of building the four modernizations. As in the previous years of revolutionary war, we need reportage. Chen Huangmei said that after the change in its layout, SHIDAI DE BAOGAO has published many good works. He said that although poems, novels and plays have their own readers and audiences, reportage can portray the times more quickly and promptly, and hence have more readers. Particularly since the 12th CPC Congress, there have appeared in our country a new outlook and a new situation, which reportage should portray in a quick and prompt way. He suggested that a contingent eager to engage in reportage creation be established to purposely report the great changes which have taken place in our country in recent years in a planned way. Feng Mu talked emphatically about

the achievements which have been made in reportage in recent years. He said our literary creation at large has entered a new prosperous and flourishing period. Compared with previous years, new progress has been made in such fields as the expansion of subjects, the increase of quantity, the in-depth depiction of life, and the emergence of new people in literature and art. The achievements of reportage and medium-length novels are most gratifying. Particularly, reportage can produce a powerful and earth-shaking ideological strength. The spirit, voices, and storms of our times are all prominently reflected in reportage. Indeed, the creation of reportage has entered a prosperous and flourishing period, which is inseparable from the life and ideology supplied by our era itself. He hoped that SHIDAI DE BAOGAO would continuously improve and upgrade itself and truthfully reflect the needs and desires of the people and the times, thus making itself not only a publication for literature enthusiasts, but also a publication which all socialist builders, laborers and defenders love and care for.

#### Reportage Must Be Completely Truthful

On the news-reporting nature and literary nature of reportage, all speakers held that reportage must be truthful and that no made-up stories or false stories can be allowed. Chen Huangmei said that on the problem of authenticity and made-up stories, we must first of all stress facts. A reportage must be based on facts and no false stories are allowable. This is where the difference between a reportage and a novel lies. Wang Meng said that as a reportage is a piece of news, it must be completely truthful. Nowadays people are used to saying "basically truthful," which I think is inappropriate. Taking the report of this forum as an example, if the time, place and participants are truthful, but the names of two absent comrades are added, the report can also be considered "basically truthful." But, does it make sense? Due to its direct news-reporting nature, a reportage sometimes may produce greater effects than a novel. There now exists a phenomenon which people must not ignore, that is, some reportage is not being affirmed by the areas and units which the reportage deal with. There is a likelihood that factors such as egalitarianism, attempts to cover up situations, concealment or contradictions and conservatism may play their role. But it also reminds us that reportage writers must treat their work more seriously by adhering to truthful and accurate reports and by paying attention to the role reportage should or should not play in carrying out criticism. For example, it is beyond the limits of the capabilities of a writer or of a reportage to judge the CPC committee at a certain level. Chen Mo also said that reportage must be truthful. The authenticity of news coexists with the party spirit of newspapers and magazines. The nature of a reportage should be truthfulness. Reportage writers must stand on a high plane and seek truth from facts. They must not only pay attention to the will and desires of the people, but must also give consideration, ultimately, to inspiring the broad masses.

Wei Junyi, Ge Yang, Li Ying, Chen Bingyi and Sun Shengwu also delivered speeches at the forum. Moreover, participants also discussed the problems of expanding the field of subjects of reportage, organizing the contingent of reportage writers, training new people in writing reportage and carrying out massive creations of reportage.

## PARTY AND STATE

### BEIJING MUNICIPALITY CALLS FOR STOP TO 'THREE EVILS'

HK120943 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Report by Zhang Yanjun [1723 1693 6511]: "Beijing Municipal CPC Committee Holds Discipline Inspection Work Conference"]

[Text] In the first half of 1983, thorough investigation must be conducted into the evil of building private houses and obtaining extra floorspace by leading cadres at or above the district, county and bureau levels and those working in departments in charge of residential affairs. This was decided yesterday at the work conference held by the discipline inspection committee of the municipal CPC committee. The meeting called for leading cadres at all levels to examine themselves regarding the issue. Those who are involved in the issue must take the initiative in correcting their mistakes as soon as possible so as to gain the forgiveness of the masses.

The meeting was presided over by Jiao Ruoyu, secretary of the municipal CPC committee and of its discipline inspection committee. It conveyed the spirit of the second plenary session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and assigned the tasks of discipline inspection work in 1983. The meeting pointed out: This year the city is going to take effective measures to stop three evils--the malpractice of building private houses and obtaining extra floorspace, the malfeasance of transferring domiciles from rural to urban areas and the dereliction of duty which leads to great losses of state and people's property due to grave bureaucratism, irresponsibility and disputes over trifles.

The meeting emphasized: In order to put an immediate end to these three evils, the slackness in leadership groups must be overcome at once. Leading cadres must set an example with their own conduct, match words with deeds and set the pace in combating evildoing. Discipline inspection committees at all levels must work together with party committees to overcome such slackness in leadership work and look into violations of the party constitution in a planned way. Party organs and leading cadres are not allowed to poke their noses into the work of inspecting violations of discipline, to harbor evildoers or to cover up evil deeds. Otherwise, they should be held responsible, or disciplinary action taken if necessary. Discipline inspection offices should also be held responsible if they neglect their duties.

The meeting also called on party committees at all levels to pay a high degree of attention to discipline inspection work, hoping that the whole party will be fully mobilized and all leaders will take the lead and assume their responsibility in the work of dealing blows at the three evils so that the discipline inspection work will achieve greater success and the party work style will be further improved in the city in 1983.

About 700 people participated in the meeting. They included members of the municipal discipline inspection committee, responsible persons of all departments and committees in the municipal CPC committee and government as well as principal responsible comrades of party leading groups and discipline inspection offices of districts, counties, bureaus, higher education institutes, factories, mines and mass organizations.

CSO: 4005/746

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN 'TWO-SUPPORTS' MEETING CLOSES 23 MARCH

OW021111 Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Mar 83 p 1

[Excerpts] The congress of the advanced in supporting army-men, giving preferential treatment to their families, supporting the government and cherishing the people in Fujian Province and the Fujian front PLA units came to a victorious close on 23 March.

During the meeting, Chen Yunfei, responsible person of the provincial civil affairs department, and Xia Yuanping, director of the political department of the Fujian Military District, respectively delivered a work report on supporting the army-men and giving preferential treatment to their families and a work report on supporting the government and cherishing the people. Forty-three representatives of advanced units and advanced persons either spoke or circulated their written messages at the meeting.

Leading comrades, including Yang Chengwu, Hu Ping and Ma Xingyuan, attended. Hu Hong, permanent secretary of the provincial party committee, addressed the meeting.

He said: The party Central Committee has put forward new tasks concerning "two-supports" work. We must firmly do a good job in supporting army-men, giving preferential treatment to their families, supporting the army and the front and settling discharged army-men. We must carry out widespread joint army-people activities to build spiritual civilization. All localities should correctly handle the relations between economic construction and national defense construction. They must pay attention to both economic construction and national defense construction at the same time and correctly handle relations between the two to promote army-government and army-people unity and ensure the smooth proceeding of economic and national defense construction in Fujian Province.

Cao Punan, deputy political commissar of the Fujian front PLA units, also addressed the meeting.

He said: The widespread joint army-people activities to build spiritual civilization recently carried out in various localities are a pioneer undertaking of support-government and cherish-people work in the new historical period. It meets the needs of the localities and the army

under the new situation and is a great undertaking in the interest of the party, the country, the army and the people. All PLA units, be they leading organs or grassroots units, should, without exception, cooperate with local authorities and people at their stations and rapidly and widely carry out the joint army-people activities to build spiritual civilization. The army, navy and air force units in Fujian should continue to carry forward the PLA's glorious traditions, do a still better job in supporting the local four modernizations and make still greater contributions to turning Fujian into an advanced province in the four modernizations.

Li Jia, deputy political commissar of the Fujian Military District, delivered a closing speech.

The congress adopted a "written proposal" to the army-men, people and those entitled to preferential treatment throughout the province.

CSO: 4005/746



## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG OFFICIAL REVEALS PROBLEM ON CADRES' WORK

SK031227 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Apr 83

[Excerpt] Today at the provincial conference on the discipline inspection work and on the pilot work of consolidating party organizations, Li Lian, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, pointed out that the newly reorganized leading bodies of CPC committees at all levels should make new progress, foster a new atmosphere, support healthy trends and acquire new skills so as to raise the building of CPC committee leading bodies to a new level.

Comrade Li Lian said: In building leading bodies, many aspects are involved. We must concentrate on what is of basic importance. At present, we must firmly concentrate on reforms and the four modernizations. We must keep political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee, resolutely struggle against leftist ideas and the erroneous ideas of bourgeois liberalizations and properly handle the relations between the implementation of the principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee and the specific situations of localities. It is necessary to improve the system of democratic centralism, uphold the party's mass line, stick to conducting criticism and self-criticism and wage a resolute struggle against all unhealthy trends and evil practices.

Referring to the problem in upholding the party's principle, Comrade Li Lian said: Owing to the pernicious influence of factionalism during the 10-year domestic turmoil and due to the malpractices engaged in by some people, the problem in cadre work has become very conspicuous while building leading bodies and rectifying the party's work style. Now, so far as the whole province is concerned, the disunity in some leading bodies is seldom caused by the divergence of views in implementing the party's line, principles and policies in building the four modernizations, but is caused by the disputes over giving promotions, employment and assignments to cadres. This is the major reason why some leading bodies are slack and weak and have no fighting capacity. Now, as we reform our organs, reorganize leading bodies and replace the old cadres with new, this problem becomes more conspicuous.

Li Lian said: The malpractices in cadres' work have been manifested in the following ways: Heedless of the party's line of appointing cadres according to their political integrity and ability, some people appoint

cadres by favoritism. Some are inclined to entrust important tasks on a small number of people and drift apart from the majority instead of working for organizations and for the majority of people. In evaluating cadres, some lack a historical and overall point of view. They pass judgment on cadres only from a single behavior and from their work over a short time, thus being unable to catch sight of their real capability. When praising a person, they talk as if he is perfect and flawless, and when criticizing a person, they talk as if he has no saving grace. While promoting and employing cadres, some stick to seeking balance--that is, when one side promotes one of its cadres, the other side also promotes one, thus lowering the standard for cadres. Some refuse to uphold the principle. Taking advantage of the opportunities of changing organizations and transferring leading cadres, some promote a large number of cadres without plan. Some demand perfection of cadres and claim that hardly anybody is qualified for promotion. Some exclude outsiders and deal blows at the advanced. Some even deal blows at and frame a case against others on the pretext of exposure and denouncement. In solving the problems on cadres' work, some turn big problems into small ones and small problems into no problems at all. Some deal with a major mistake as if it were a minor one and deal with a minor mistake as if it were not a mistake at all. A few people still cling to factionalist activity and refuse to deal with those who have committed serious mistakes.

Comrade Li Lian said: Whether or not these malpractices can be solved is a rigorous test of leading departments and leading bodies at all levels. Large numbers of party members and the masses are waiting to see the results. We should assess a leading body's fighting capacity by how it solves the problems on cadres' work. Leading bodies at all levels must straighten out their cadre's line.

CSO: 4005/746

## PARTY AND STATE

### ZHEJIANG'S WANG FANG OFFERS GUIDING THOUGHT IN REFORM

OW021325 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] "A reform, whether in the sector of commerce or industry, must benefit the country and the people. It must be conducive to developing production, promoting economic prosperity, increasing the state's accumulations and improving the people's living standard." This was an important guiding thought put forward by Comrade Wang Fang in his speech on the evening of 21 March.

He said that our policy on enterprises must be one taking both the following points into consideration. On the one hand, it should motivate them and bring out their vitality and initiative. On the other hand, it should apply pressure on them to make them shoulder responsibilities and prevent them from behaving in a languid, lax and undisciplined way. There are, at present, some units which not only pose a financial burden to the state, but infringe on the interests of the masses as well. This is an abnormal situation, notwithstanding the fact that these are but isolated cases. It should deserve our attention, and we must offer guidance to them to develop in a sound manner.

On the basis of the aforementioned guiding thought, Comrade Wang Fang directed the attention of leaders to the following important points, when exercising leadership over the reform of commerce and industry:

--Boldly carry out what has been ascertained as correct. For instance, structural reforms of the supply and marketing cooperatives may be the focal point of the current reform in commerce. Accelerate reform where conditions merit a quicker pace. When we are not quite sure of something, we should exercise caution and experiment in selected units.

--Strengthen ideological and political work in the process of pushing the system of responsibility for operations. See to it that the relationship between the three entities of the state, the collective and the individual is correctly handled; that the relationship between the interests of the enterprise, its workers, staff and the consumers is also correctly handled. Make it clear to the cadres and masses why it is necessary to give consideration first to feeding the people and then to construction. It is wrong to think that the only purpose of reform is to make more money for one's

own unit and oneself. It is necessary to educate the workers and staff in the need to foster the idea of their being the masters of the country and make sure that the reform is carried out so that the state gets the lion's share of the profit and the consumer's interest is protected. This being the prerequisite, the enterprise will get the second largest share and the individual the smallest.

--While carrying out reform in commerce, it is also necessary to broaden our vision and actively explore new markets. It is advisable to send capable personnel to sell our products as best they can.

CSO: 4005/746

PARTY AND STATE

TIANJIN'S CHEN WEIDA AT CONGRESS PREPARATORY MEETING

SK050500 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 5 Apr 83

[Text] On the morning of 4 April, Tianjin municipality held a preparatory meeting for the first session of the 10th municipal people's congress. At the meeting, participating deputies simultaneously approved the session's agenda, the namelist of the session's presidium and its secretary-general, the namelist of the session's motions examination committee and the namelist of the session's committee in charge of examining financial final accounts and the budget.

Following the preparatory meeting, the newly elected presidium held its first meeting, which elected the permanent chairmen of the session's presidium, including Chen Weida, Zhang Zaiwang, Yan Dakai, Chen Bing, Wang Enhui, Tan Shaowen, Zhao Jun, Zhou Shutao, Cao Xikang, Lu Da, Yang Jianbai, Fan Quan, Xu Ming (f), [words indistinct], Huang Tifei, Zhao Jinsheng, Yang Tianshou, Yu Songting and Liao Canhui.

Comrade Yan Dakai presided over both the preparatory meeting and the first meeting of the session's presidium.

The first session of the 10th municipal people's congress formally opened this morning. The session will hear a report given by Mayor Li Ruihuan on the sixth 5-year municipal economic plan and will examine the 1983 municipal plans for the national economy and social development, the report of 1982 financial final accounts and the 1983 draft budget and the work reports given by the municipal higher people's court and by the municipal people's procuratorate.

The session will elect new members of the municipal people's congress standing committee; the mayor and deputy mayors; presidents of the municipal higher people's court and municipal intermediate people's courts; chief procurator of the municipal procuratorial office and procuratorial branches; and deputies to the Sixth NPC.

CSO: 4005/746

## PARTY AND STATE

### JILIN CASE OF MISTREATING COMPETENT WORKER REVEALED

SK051312 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 4 Apr 83

[Text] Because of upholding the principle and having a hand in the so-called "other people's business," (Wang Yu), technical deputy director and associate engineer of the Changchun City Lock Manufacturing Plant and a model laborer of the province and Changchun city, had been attacked and excluded by the first deputy director of this plant and recently has been transferred to another unit.

(Wang Yu), a 43-year-old party member, had cautiously and conscientiously immersed himself in hard work at his post for over 20 years and mastered a complete set of techniques for manufacturing locks. However, his hard work brought him under criticism attack and exclusion by the plant's first deputy director. Since being transferred to this plant in 1978, this first deputy director has been put in charge of the work of labor, capital, marketing and many other key departments. During this period, he assigned jobs to some people on his own side and has had final say on all affairs. His erroneous practice was publicly resisted by Comrade (Wang Yu). For this reason, this first deputy director made use of his special relations with the plant to exclude and attack (Wang Yu). Not long ago, in the name of strengthening the work of the Changchun City No 2 Lock Manufacturing Plant, the Changchun City Second Light Industrial Bureau transferred (Wang Yu), who is proficient in lock manufacturing techniques, to another unit and assigned this first deputy director, who is unprofessional in lock manufacturing skills and merely seeks favorable relations through playing politics, to take charge of the plant's affairs.

JILIN RIBAO has issued a short commentary for this entitled: "Support Comrades Who Dare To Resist Unhealthy Practices." The short commentary states: At some enterprises and units, there really are some people who are unprofessional in skills and management, engage in seeking favorable relations and try every means to attack others. Worse still, a few leaders of some leading departments concerned pay no attention to right and wrong and to the party's principles, thus encouraging some people at subordinate units to do whatever they like. Such malpractice can bring about serious damage to the party. Therefore, in the course of readjusting enterprises, it is necessary to deal resolute blows at such relations networks, reveal and resist such malpractices and encourage those who are proficient in skills and management and dare to uphold the principle to work boldly.

CSO: 4005/746

## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY SCHOOL STUDY OF NEW CONSTITUTION DESCRIBED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 7 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by Zhang Guquan [1728 6253 3123]: " The Party School Should be a Model for Studying and Implementing the New Constitution"]

[Text] Wang Zhen [3769 7201], President of the CPC Central Committee Party School, spoke out emphasizing the need to take a high level look at and earnestly study the constitution along with Peng Zhen's "Report on the Draft Revision of the People's Republic of China." He said that this is the best constitution since the founding of the nation. It is the guiding principle for the basic activities of all the people and for all organizations in China and the general regulations for running the country and keeping the peace. The party school should organize all comrades in the school to closely study the new constitution, understand the basic spirit of each and every important clause, improve their concept of the constitution, and act in accordance with it. The constitution is our yardstick in performing duties, criticizing works, writing articles, making reports and for our every word and deed, so we must carefully think and watch to see if we are in accordance with the constitution and if we are consciously following the constitution and the laws. Wang Zhen asked the comrades in the party school to be models in carrying out and protecting the constitution.

In order to aid the party school comrades in their study of the new constitution, certain experts were invited to speak at the school. On December 21st, 22nd, and 24th, the 84 year old famous legal expert Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 7625] was invited to give a report on studying the new constitution; on the 27th, Wang Huaian [3769 2037 1344], Vice President of the Supreme People's Court, was invited to give a report on several problems concerning the criminal code. Prior to this, the party school's educational laboratory held a "Lecture Series on Basic Legal Knowledge," and four lectures have already been given, including "The Origin and Characteristics of Laws" and "The Features of Socialist Law."

At present, the students and workers of the Central Committee Party School are acting in accordance with the arrangements by the school's party committee and are closely studying and discussing the new constitution. They moreover are combining study of the new constitution with study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and with study of the relevant professional courses.

11582  
CSO: 4005/682



## PARTY AND STATE

### 'LEGAL SYSTEM PROPAGANDA DAY' ACTIVITIES DESCRIBED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 4 Feb 83 p 1

[Article originating from the Beijing Municipal Judicial Bureau:  
"Beijing Holds First 'Legal System Propaganda Day' Activities"]

[Text] On 30 January, Beijing held "Legal System Propaganda Day" activities to popularize general legal knowledge to the broad masses, answer legal questions and carry out broad-ranging education of the legal system.

This is the first time Beijing has held "Legal System Propaganda Day" activities and the leading comrades of the Ministry of Justice, the Communist Party of China and the government all place great value on this event. Leading comrades such as Liu Fuzhi [0491 1788 0037] Minister of the Ministry of Justice, Zhu Jianming [2612 0494 2494] Vice Minister of the Ministry of Justice, Zheng Xiwen [6774 1585 2429] Vice Minister of the Ministry of Justice, Ye Zilong [0673 1311 7893] Deputy Mayor of Beijing and An Lin [1344 2651] Deputy Mayor of Beijing took part in the activities at such places as the Beijing terminal and the Wang Fu Jing department store propaganda stations. When Liu Fuzhi saw the long lines of people waiting to ask questions of the lawyers he said that it is a good thing for judicial personnel to popularize the legal system for the masses and that this is a major aspect of the reform of the legal system to initiate a new situation. In the implementation of a turn for the better in social order and the social mood, the judicial battlefront is no different from the rest and reforms must be carried out. The experiences of the "Legal System Propaganda Day" activities must be summed up and transmitted to the nation's cities and rural towns.

On this day, all ten wards of the city and the nearby suburbs had 28 legal system propaganda stations in the streets, squares and parks. Legal experts, professors, lawyers, notary publics and legal organ cadres totaling over 1,000 people left their offices and went to propaganda stations to participate in these activities. Their activities consisted of answering legal questions, distributing propaganda materials, exhibiting charts and sets of

materials, broadcast material about the legal system and performing programs on the legal system. They brought the masses knowledge of the new constitution and the legal system. They introduced the work performed by lawyers and public notaries and the people's system of mediation. Their propaganda had abundant typical cases of educational significance. They propagandized the broad masses on being good people and performing good deeds by doing battle against criminal activities. All of the programs demonstrating the legal system performed by the propaganda stations were well received by the masses. In Xuanwu and Shijingshan wards, each street had legal system propaganda stations. The broad masses generally praised the "Legal System Propaganda Day" activities. The people expressed their hope that in the future there again would be such activities, with the legal system coming into the streets to bring the people full services.

On this day, the 28 legal system propaganda stations throughout the city were visited by over 4,400 people and there were over 3,800 questions regarding such legal topics as the policy on private homes, inheritance rights, support of the aged, marriage, family and neighbor disputes and criminal cases. Over 780,000 pieces of propaganda material were distributed and they exhibited 335 sets of materials on the constitution, penal code, marriage law and typical cases.

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CS0: 4005/682

## PARTY AND STATE

### 1982 POLITICS, LAW HIGHLIGHTS LISTED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 7 Jan 83 p1

[Article: "Ten 1982 Highlights in Law and Politics"]

[Text] This newspaper has compiled a list of 10 highlights in politics and law for 1982:

1. The program offered by the 12th Party Congress for the overall creation of a new situation in the construction of socialist modernization. The resolution passed by the party congress pointed out that at the same time that we are building socialist material civilization we must also build socialist spiritual civilization, develop socialist democracy and strengthen the socialist legal system.
2. The passing, promulgation and enactment by the 5th Plenum of the 5th National People's Congress of the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and the passing of the 6th 5-year plan.
3. The resolution by the CPC Central Committee regarding organizational reforms and the already basically completed organizational reform of the political and legal departments.
4. The resolution of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress concerning severe punishment for serious economic crimes. This resolution made a number of correct supplements to and revisions of "The Criminal Code of the People's Republic of China."
5. "The Resolution Concerning Attacks on Serious Economic Crimes in the Economy" made by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and the major accomplishments of the entire nation in attacking serious criminal economic activities.
6. The All-China Work Conference on Politics and Law convened by the CPC Central Committee and the affirmation that the general task in politics and law is to protect and promote economic construction as the central point in the task of building socialist modernization.

7. The initial testing of the "The Civil Action Laws (Test Version) of the People's Republic of China," and the initial implementation of "The Economic Contract Laws of the People's Republic of China."

8. The establishment in Beijing of the China Society of the Science of Law.

9. China's participation in the signing of the treaty of the International Law of the Seas.

10. The successful smashing by China of an airplane hijacking plot.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### NEW PROVINCIAL LEADERS SAID YOUNGER, BETTER EDUCATED

OW201449 Beijing XINHUA in English 1411 GMT 20 Apr 83

[Article by Zhang Mengyi: "News Analysis: Members of CPC New Provincial-Level Leading Bodies Younger, Better Educated"]

[Text] Beijing, April 20--The Communist Party organizations in China's 29 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities have formed their leading bodies approved by the party's Central Committee.

These new leading bodies include younger members, more intellectuals with higher education and professionals, even though the number of people is reduced.

Recruitment of younger members is a major objective of restructuring Chinese party organs. The CPC Central Committee has stipulated that among the first three top members of every provincial committee, at least one member should be about 55 years of age, and no less than one-third of the standing committee members should be below 55 years of age. As a result of this ruling, the average age of the leaders is lowered.

For example, the average age of the secretary and deputy secretaries of the Sichuan provincial party committee is lowered from 63.4 to 52.8, the secretary is 56 years old while his youngest deputy is 50. Among the 16 standing committee members, nine are below 55. In Hubei Province, the secretary is 51 years of age and one of his deputies is only 39.

The leading bodies include more specialists, professors and others with a higher education. The leaders come from party and government organizations, universities, research institutes, enterprises and financial departments.

In Henan Province, for example, among the six new secretaries and standing committee members are four college graduates. He Zhukang, one of the secretaries, graduated from the Chinese People's University and Moscow Economics Institute. Luo Yuzeng, another secretary, studied at Leipzig University, East Germany, and knows German, English and French.

One-third of the standing committee members of the newly formed Heilongjiang provincial party committee are specialists and professors.

With the increase of the average educational level of the members of leading bodies, the role of intellectuals has been increased.

After the restructuring of top party organs, leaders at various levels will not assume their posts in the government concurrently. The number of department chiefs working under a provincial party committee has also been reduced by several fold.

The restructured party leadership has retained a little more than half of the experienced local veterans. With the retirement of aged cadres, younger people have assumed leadership roles.

The first secretaries of the party committees of the country's 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are:

Beijing: Duan Junyi; Tianjin: Chen Weida; Hebei: Gao Yang; Shanxi: Li Ligong; Inner Mongolia: Zhou Hui; Liaoning: Guo Feng; Jilin: Qiang Xiaochu; Heilongjiang: Li Li'an; Shanghai: Chen Guodong; Jiangsu: Han Peixin; Zhejiang: Wang Fang; Anhui: Huang Huang; Fujian: Xiang Nan; Jiangxi: Bai Dongcai; Shandong: Su Yiran; Henan: Liu Jie; Hubei: Guan Guangfu; Hunan: Mao Zhiyong; Guangdong: Ren Zhongyi; Guangxi: Qiao Xiaoguang; Sichuan: Yang Rudai; Guizhou: Chi Biqing; Yunnan: An Pingsheng; Tibet: Yin Fatang; Shaanxi: Ma Wenrui; Gansu: Li Ziqi; Qinghai: Zhao Haifeng; Ningxia: Li Xuezhi; and Xinjiang: Wang Enmao.

CSO: 4005/750

PARTY AND STATE

RETIRED, ELDERLY PROVIDED WELFARE FACILITIES

OW190930 Beijing XINHUA in English 0755 GMT 19 Apr 83

[Text] Beijing, April 19 (XINHUA)--A retired accountant in north China's port city of Tianjin was recently honored by the municipal people's government as a model teacher, and an association of retired engineers was recognized as a model unit of the city.

Shi Decheng, 67, a retired bank accountant, is now a member of an accounting service agency set up by a democratic party branch in the city. He was invited as a visiting teacher to help train accountants in five secondary technical schools. The more than 1,000 trainees he taught were top-ranking in their studies.

An association consisting of 125 retired specialists of machinery, light industry, textiles and construction engineering offers free scientific and technical consultant service to any unit seeking their help.

Li Changlie and Yan Zhongdi, members of the association, joined with the technicians and workers of the Tianjin No 1 Blanket Factory to reduce machine noise.

Local governments and departments throughout China are providing welfare facilities for the retired and elderly. The retirement age in China is 60 years for men and 55 years for women.

A center for the aged, the "God of Longevity Palace," covering 800 square meters was recently built in a quiet scenic spot of Nanjing, capital of east China's Jiangsu Province. It has rooms for artistic activities, chess-playing, reading and other recreational activities, and a refreshment room and a shop. The center provides the elderly with special diets.

An art show held on the palace's inaugural day displayed calligraphic works and paintings by retired cadres in the city.

In Guizhou Province, southwest China, a medical consultation center for the elderly has been set up. The center, with doctors of Western and traditional Chinese medicine, combines consultant services with medical treatment, and introduces fitness programs for the aged.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

GANSU OLD CADRE GROUPS--On 31 March, the provincial CPC committee decided to set up an old cadres work leading group and a Gansu provincial old cadres work department in order to strengthen the leadership over the work related to old cadres. The two organizations will study and solve the problems related to this work in a timely manner. The provincial old cadres work department is the operation office of the old cadres work leading group of the provincial CPC committee, as well as a work department of the provincial CPC committee and the provincial people's government. [Text] [HK060351 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Apr 83]

NEI MONGGOL DISCIPLINE INSPECTION MEETING--After a 9-day session, the regional discipline inspection work conference came to a successful end this afternoon. The conference stressed that one of the major steps to achieve a basic turn for the better in the party work style this year is to check the unhealthy tendencies that arouse strong reactions from the masses. Party committees and the discipline inspection commissions at all levels must uncover all kinds of unhealthy tendencies in their own localities and departments, grasp the key points, and be resolute and brave in dealing with difficulties and in overcoming them so as to create a new situation in correcting the party work style. During the conference, Zhou Hui, first secretary of the regional CPC committee, delivered a mobilization speech. He said: Party committees at all levels must attach great importance to grasping party work style and mobilize the whole party to participate in this work. Party work style improvement work must be carried out at all levels and with good results so as to achieve endless improvements in the party work style. [Excerpt] [SK070730 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Apr 83]

SOONG FOUNDATION COUNCIL MEMBERS FETED--Beijing, April 11 (XINHUA)--Liao Chengzhi, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and adviser to the Soong Ching Ling Foundation, and Kang Keqing, chairman of the foundation, tonight hosted a banquet for council members of the foundation Chinn Ho, Paul T.K. Lin, Walter Chee Kwon Chun and Junnie Chun, as well as Mrs. Betty Ho. Chinn Ho, who is chairman of the Capital Investment of Hawaii, Inc., in the United States, has come to discuss the construction of a children's library he donated to the Soong Ching Ling Children's Science Game Park in Beijing. Present on the occasion were Rong Yiren and Wu Quanheng, both vice-chairmen of the foundation, and Bai Jiefu, vice-mayor of Beijing. [Text] [OW111346 Beijing XINHUA in English 1312 GMT 11 Apr 83]



ZHEJIANG RETIREMENT CERTIFICATES--On 26 March, the Zhejiang Military District held a ceremonial meeting to award honorable retirement certificates to veteran cadres. On behalf of the party committee of the provincial military district, Commander Kang Mingcai and Political Commissar Luo Qingtao issued retiring veteran cadres with "the veteran cadres' honorable retirement certificates of the People's Republic of China." All the nearly 400 retiring veteran cadres present at the meeting were excited. They pledged to carry forward revolutionary traditions, strive for greater honor and make more contributions to the party and to the people. [Text] [OW051451 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 83 p 1]

FUJIAN HISTORICAL SITES VISITED--Fuzhou, 3 Apr (XINHUA)--Responsible comrades of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee Xiang Nan, Wen Xiushan and Zhang Yumin today went to Changding County, where the Fujian provincial party committee and the provincial soviet people's government were located during the period of the second revolutionary civil war, to pay a visit to the monument to revolutionary martyrs at the Nanzhai Square. They laid a wreath before the monument on behalf of the provincial party committee. Responsible comrades of the provincial party committee paid a visit on 1 April to former residences of Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De and Luohanling where Comrade Qu Qiubai died a martyr. [Text] [OW031814 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1428 GMT 3 Apr 83]

CSO: 4005/750

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON MARXIST LITERARY CRITICISM

HK180757 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Wei Xi [7279 1395]: "Carry on and Develop Marxist Literary and Art Criticism"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our literary and art creation and criticism efforts have all along advanced together. Every important development or major breakthrough in creation is not only the result of the hard work of writers or artists but also, at the same time, the fruit of painstaking labor by literary and art commentators. Literary and art criticism has played a tremendous role in bringing order out of chaos and enlivening creation. But there are also certain defects in our literary and art criticism. For example, due to the lack of adequate preparations in regard to Marxist theory, theory has not been adequately linked with real life and the practice of creation. As a result, many new conditions and new experiences that have appeared in the practice of creation have not been properly summed up or digested. Certain mistakes existing in literary and art creation have not been corrected in time. Comments, favorable or unfavorable, often show a lack of profundity, thorough analysis, strict verification or scientific summarization. These problems existing in literary and art criticism, coupled with the tendency toward subordinating literary and art criticism to the political criticism movement and putting it in stereotyped, generalized and simplified terms under the influence of erroneous "leftist" ideas over a long period of time, have had the effect of dimming the image of our literary and art criticism and wrecking its reputation. In the process of bringing order out of chaos, there have also appeared the influences of literary and art thinking divorced from the Marxist orbit--such as publicizing so-called "self-expression," one-sidedly stressing the role of intuition in artistic creation and "subconscious activity," and so forth, departing from the idea of the conscious activity of making history by the masses of people. These have also encouraged in different respects the erroneous idea that criticism cannot have a wholesome effect on creation.

The causes of contempt for literary and art criticism are many-sided. But our Marxist literary and art criticism is really not developed enough. A basic way to change the above situation is to improve the Marxist level of literary and art criticism. This calls for painstaking efforts and for work

in many fields, including the strengthening of theoretical training, promoting the effort to link theory with the practice of creation, organizing and expanding the ranks of commentators, and so forth. At present, a pressing problem is to make things clear about many erroneous interpretations of Marxist literary and art criticism and bring about a correct understanding of the nature and role of Marxist literature and art.

#### Marxism Guides Mankind's Understanding of Literary and Art Phenomena Onto the Road to Truth

Marxist literary and art criticism calls for the use of the basic viewpoint of historical and dialectical materialism to analyze literary and art phenomena. The birth of Marxism was the greatest revolution in the history of human thinking. To review literature and art as an ideological form and treat literature and art as a special reflection of a given period and given social life in writers' minds is similarly a landmark of historical reform in the history of literature and art. On such extremely complicated spiritual phenomena as literature and art, people before the appearance of Marxism had made studies for several thousand years and put forth lots of genuine knowledge and valuable views and had gradually come to the stage of touching on certain basic aspects of literature and art. These up to now must still be understood by us and should never be neglected. But in the past, in their analysis and understanding of literary and art phenomena people often regarded literature and art as a mechanical carbon copy of real life, or took literature and art as something mysterious. Now some comrades have again raised the view that literature and art are "an expression of subjective ideas" and that "literature and art are for their own sake." There is obviously no future for this way of negating literature and art as social ideology and turning to idealist aesthetes before Marxism for an answer about the nature of literature and art. Before Marxism, even the most outstanding literature and art commentators had not the power to completely reveal the basic relations of literature and art to the era, to the people and to the trends of historical development and get at the social material causes finally dominating changes in literary and art development. Only Marxism, generally speaking, has guided people's understanding of literary and art phenomena onto the road to truth. In the history of literature and art, there have been so many complicated phenomena that leave people puzzled, so many outstanding works of literature and art long put in mothballs, and so many brilliant images of literature and art that have earned praises and admiration from people. But it is difficult to know the reasons why. Only Marxist literary and art criticisms have made overall scientific assessments of them that can stand the test of history.

If literature and art are to reflect various social problems and various social ideas and reflect the ideas, feelings and wishes of a given class, we cannot have a work devoid of ideological content, or of a concentrated expression of a writer's understanding, ideals, ideological feelings and spiritual outlook. A study of a work purely with regard to form and technique can never get at the truth of art. Marxism has opened up an infinitely wide scope for the criticism of literature and art. We must use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, and especially the ideas contained

therein on the laws governing the development of literature and art, to analyze literary and art phenomena, discuss literary and art thinking, comment on the literary and art situation, and make an analysis or study of writers and works. Making a comprehensive criticism of works in regard to thinking and technique, analyzing the trends of creation in certain works and their literary and art thinking, and making comparative analyses (including encouragement, criticism, and so forth) of the trends of development and progress in creations--all these fall into the scope of literary and art criticism. Reflecting all the complexities of lives in their eras, many great works of Shakespeare, Goethe, Balzac, Tolstoy, and so forth constitute the most complicated spiritual phenomena that almost defy explanation. Only the authors of Marxist classics have with their pens touched on depths of things never before reached by people, revealing their great historical substance. Today, people are not satisfied with the status quo of literary and art criticism. Some people consider that this has been caused by "too much attention to the analysis of thinking and too little attention to the analysis of technique." This is obviously no answer to the main point of the question. In fact, the basic cause is not so-called too much attention to the analysis of thinking. Rather, it is too little attention to a real Marxist analysis of thinking, especially where an ideological analysis closely linking the realities of life with the practice of creation is concerned. In the past few years, our works of literature and art have relatively sharply reflected a series of complicated major social problems in real life and various social ideas. As far as these are concerned, our literary and art criticism has still failed to come up with timely scientific answers. Many excellent works have appeared in the past few years. But very few critical articles compatible with them have appeared--articles that can deeply reveal their social significance and ideological value. There is, meanwhile, a lack of sharp and ideologically deep analysis and criticism of those works with wrong ideological trends and relatively complicated contents. Such so-called themes on humanitarianism as "human value," "human dignity," and so forth, moral problems in love and marriage, the relations between individuals and social environments, individual responsibility to society, and other problems have also been very seldom subject to scientific analysis and assessment. The masses of readers given to thinking and writers and artists who crave for a breakthrough in the ideological and artistic fields hope that there can be Marxist answers, as far as these problems are concerned. A real Marxist analysis of thinking has a tremendous impact on writers and artists who seek a deeper understanding of their own era and the people and a grasp of the trends in historical development, and on their choice of the focus of life, selection of stirring themes and creation of artistic images with deep historical significance.

#### Marxist Literary and Art Criticism Upholds the Principle of Unity Between Aesthetics and History and Between Ideology and Art

One view is that Marxist literary and art criticism is helpful in exposing and defining the ideological substance and social significance of works of literature and art, but is useless in their artistic analysis. It is even held that artistic analysis does not fall into the scope of Marxist literary

and art criticism. This view shows ignorance of the fundamental fact that in the whole history of literary and art criticism it is none other than the Marxist that has really advanced, advocated and successfully applied the principle of unity between aesthetics and history and between ideology and art. This principle does not interfere with a shift of emphasis in our concrete analysis of works--a shift of emphasis to the analysis of ideological contents, or to the analysis of artistic value and artistic form. But treating works as an organic whole of unity of ideology and art and considering these two respects with regard to their inherent links and unity is a prominent contribution by Marxist literary and art criticism. This is to say that real Marxist literary and art criticism does not make an isolated analysis of the ideological contents of works in a departure from the creation of the images of figures and the description of the relations between figures, of scenes and of facts of life, and so forth. Nor does it make so-called artistic analysis in a departure from the ideological contents of works. Marxist literary and art criticism has never neglected the artistic analysis of works and the study of laws governing art. It is common knowledge that in the very process of analyzing the works of Shakespeare and Schiller, Marx and Engels put forth the two aesthetic concepts of "Shakespeare-ization" and "Schiller-ization" with profound implications. In the very process of analyzing the works of Balzac and (Ha-ke-nai-si [0761 0344 1143 2448]), they put forth the well-known thesis on the theory of realist creation and on realism calling for the creation of "typical figures in typical circumstances." While speaking highly of the profound thinking of Tolstoy's literary works, Lenin also fully affirmed its striking artistic strength, warmly praising that exactly due to Tolstoy's description of Russia's life with unmatched genius, such a state as Russia, oppressed though it was by serf-owners, was enabled to reach in her period of preparations for revolution a prominent peak in the artistic development of all mankind. This was true of the analysis of not only great works in the history of literature but also general works. Concerning those works with great flaws in their ideological content, including unhealthy ideological trends and even political reaction, authors of Marxist classics also did not neglect to assess their success or failure in regard to artistic creation. Only on the basis of a widespread analysis of artistic phenomena were authors of Marxist classics able to put forth concise views on the imbalance between art and economic development, on the special form calling for literature and art to pay attention to reality, on the lively and typical nature of art, on the relations between writers' ideological viewpoints and realism, and other problems. For more than a century, Marxist literary and art commentators have continuously carried out extensive studies on the laws governing art, and have accumulated rich experiences in various artistic fields. This has produced an important influence on literary and artistic creation. In the past several years, works of literature and art have not only provided us with many things worth serious summation and analysis in regard to their ideological content. They have also accumulated a wealth of new experiences and encountered some new problems in artistic creation. These problems may be cited as follows: drawing on foreign artistic experiences and developing our national traditions; new artistic creations and the mass habits of appreciation; how to enable works of literature and art to continuously satisfy the ever-developing and

changing aesthetic tastes of the masses of people; the matter of "writing on essence" and seeking typical examples; the reflection of life by different artistic means and different ways; the styles and schools marking works of literature and art of the new era; and so forth. If we can raise the standard or make a breakthrough in summing up and studying the above problems, this will have a great influence on writers and artists' ability to sum up and reflect life and promote the development of literature and art.

#### Literary and Art Criticism Has an Influence on Readers and Also Naturally on Writers and Artists

Another view is that Marxist literary and art criticism chiefly has an influence on readers. It overlooks and even negates its influence on writers and artists. The argument is that the writer in the process of writing can, just as Lu Xun said, "brush aside all criticism" and submit himself only to the impact of real life on himself and to the so-called state of "not controlling the self" in writing--not the least dictated by various views in the outside world. This view is obviously one-sided and wrong.

First, criticism produces an influence on readers and of course also on writers and artists. Literary and art criticism joins the writers in studying the meaningful and complicated themes in real life that have inspired them and in analyzing their feelings of pleasure and pain, and their failure or success, in creation. This inevitably plays a great enlightening role in broadening the writers' horizon and solving questions that puzzle them. Therefore, this will naturally make the writers show an interest in such criticism, welcome it, and listen seriously to the views offered by it. Second, according to Marxist dialectical theory on production and consumption, artistic production and artistic consumption influence and create each other. Not only does "the object of art create the masses that understand and are capable of appreciating aesthetics" but also the appreciation of art, or "consumption," "creates the qualities of the producer, because it gives rise to the need in him to pursue a given goal." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 95) If literary and art criticism is really capable of reflecting in a correct and concentrated manner the aesthetic demand of the masses of people that show appreciation, this will in turn influence the writers and artists' activity of creation and help raise their ideological and artistic levels. The works of writers and artists cultivate and influence the ideological realm and aesthetic taste of the masses of readers. The masses of readers in turn also "produce" the qualities of writers and artists. Marxist literary and art criticism is exactly the concentrated reflection of the aesthetic demand of the masses of people. It thus becomes a fundamental medium between the people and the creative activities of writers and artists. Third, the view about "brushing aside all criticism" in the process of creation was not Lu Xun's general attitude toward literary and art criticism. Lu Xun said: "Every time I write, I brush aside all criticism." But this was prompted by the then prevailing situation in literary and art criticism. He said that at that time people in the world of literary and art criticism were extremely

childish. "They either praise you to the skies or humble you to the dust. If you take what they say to heart, you will either think you are wonderful or so bad as to commit suicide." ("How Did I Start Writing?") In fact, Lu Xun did not brush aside all criticism. Rather, he warmly looked forward to the appearance of "those skilled in the art of Marxist criticism" and "solid and understanding commentators who really know social science and literary and art theory." ("Views on the Alliance of Leftist Writers" and "We Need Commentators") Hitting the nail on the head, he said: "We must have still more truthful criticism. Only then can there be hope for the appearance of real new literature and art and new criticism." "Literature and art must be subject to criticism." "Literature and art and their criticism must be made to advance together." ("A Translator's Notes: Literature and Art and Their Criticism" and "Random Notes on Reading (3)") Fourth, in the concrete process of creation, there also does appear a certain "unconscious" state of being "incapable of controlling the self" and "free from self-awareness." But this similarly cannot be taken as the basis for brushing aside literary and art criticism. The influence of Marxist literary and art criticism on readers, writers and artists is not simple and direct, and acts in combination with the latter's concrete life experience, cultural training, ideological level, aesthetic tastes, and so forth. Marxist literary and art criticism cannot and should not replace the concrete process of creation. There is no reason to sum up its guiding role in creation as a matter of providing so-called "ways of writing" and "dictionaries on description." Its task is to scientifically sum up literary and art experiences and promote linking the writers and artists with life, and the people and with the progress of history, so that writers and artists can correctly understand life, analyze life, and sum up life, and correctly treat the artistic experiences of the predecessors and the contemporaries. It gives writers and artists this ideological and artistic nutrition. Once it is combined with the life and artistic practice of writers and artists and really turns into their flesh and blood and their emotions and into an internal force to stimulate their creation, it will have a tremendous influence on their process of creation. Regardless of whether the writers and artists admit it, or how they are blessed with individual unique features of artistic creation, its effect on the whole process of creation cannot be denied. Such phenomena as "being incapable of controlling oneself," "being free from self-awareness," "inspiration," "intuition," and so forth appearing in the process of creation are exactly the result of the accumulation of a long period of ideological, life and artistic experience on the part of writers and artists--experience which includes the influence of literary and art criticism on them. Such a superficially "unconscious" state is in essence exactly a kind of conscious activity which is on the level of great significance and which is full of the features of artistic creation.

#### Healthy Literary and Art Criticism Is One of the Important Ways for the Party To Exercise Leadership Over Socialist Literature and Art

In socialist literature and art, the conduct of comradely criticism and self-criticism, the exchange of views, and mutual discussions are a necessary way to enliven and develop literature and art. Criticism and

self-criticism is an important driving force behind the progress of our whole revolutionary cause. The literary and art enterprise guided by our party, including the creative activity of writers and artists and the criticism by commentators, is of course also inseparable from criticism and self-criticism. On literary and art criticism, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must humbly listen to criticisms from all quarters and accept wholesome views. This is often a driving force behind the continuous progress of artists and the continuous improvement of their standard." ("Congratulatory Speech at the Fourth Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers") Any literary and art criticism has an influence on writers to a greater or lesser degree, or in a hidden or obvious manner. It is to guarantee the direction of creation serving the people and serving socialism and to guarantee creation being able to continue its exploration and progress that the party's use of the way of literary and art criticism is suggested. It is to be good at upholding and developing Marxist literary and art criticism that the problem of guiding literature and art through Marxist literary and art criticism is raised. There are various ways of party leadership over literature and art, among them the formulation and implementation of the correct line and general policy, the adoption of necessary organizational measures and administrative measures, and so forth. But to uphold and develop Marxist literary and art criticism is undoubtedly one of the extremely important ways. This is determined by the features of socialist literature and art themselves and the laws governing their development.

Literary and art creation is complicated mental labor. It seeks to reflect the complexities of life and people's thinking, emotions and wishes through well-developed and various artistic images. Its ideological or artistic value is not so easy to judge in terms of good or bad, as a material product is. Only through scientific artistic criticism can we judge its trend in ideological feelings, assess its good or bad treatment of art, and, in the repeated process of discussion and consultation, find out the writer's unique artistic discoveries. This is by no means possible by relying on sheer organizational conclusions or administrative interference. Literary and art creation is a highly conscious creative labor combining reason and emotion. To make wholesome views and ideas penetrate into writers and artists' consciousness and souls, we must also go through sufficient reasoning and patient and conscious literary and art criticism. Only then can we bring this about. As regards leadership over literature and art, we should rely on science, on art and on truth. This is one of the important reasons why Belinsky was praised by Lenin as one of the pioneer Marxist literary and art commentators was capable of inspiring the progressive intellectual circles throughout Russia with his own literary and art criticism after the 1840's and bringing about the development of ideology and literature across Russia. Lu Xun, a giant of China's cultural revolution, also guided the tides of the then revolutionary literature and art with his outstanding social and literary and art criticisms, cultivating and helping a whole generation of writers and artists. Today, in our country, Marxism has become the guiding ideology for the party, the state and the people of all nationalities across the country. Party and state leadership over literature and art has provided and created most favorable



and adequate conditions for the development of Marxist literary and art criticism. The status quo of our literature and art has also imposed a more exacting demand on literary and art criticism. Under these circumstances, if we do not devote ourselves to upholding and developing Marxist literary and art criticism and instead belittle or weaken its influence on creation, this can still less be considered correct.

For the party to guide literature and art through literary and art criticism does not mean that the commentators are necessarily more brilliant than writers and artists. Nor does it mean that anything said by a commentator is absolutely correct and representative of party guidance for literature and art. Rather, it only means that we must give full play to the positive role of literary and art criticism. In the literary and artistic fields, we must correctly conduct criticism and self-criticism. Under the banner of Marxist thinking, we must, through democratic discussion and free competition and through criticism and counter criticism, develop what is correct and advanced and rectify what is wrong and backward and use what is truthful, good and beautiful to overcome what is false, evil and ugly. One of the basic Marxist requirements for literary and art commentators is unity of theory and practice and the building of their own literary and art criticism on the basis of literary and art practice. The endless vitality and truthfulness of Marxist literary and art criticism lies in its being different from any fixed and isolated so-called theoretical system. It absorbs and merges all ideas, viewpoints and theories compatible with the laws of literature and art in the history of literary and art criticism. It is also rooted in ever-developing real life and artistic practice. It continuously enriches and consolidates itself with rich experiences and new contents. A writer, artist or commentator must at all times be receptive to the guidance of life and the voice of the people. Meanwhile, all of them must also constantly absorb nutrition from each other. Just as a writer or artist who refuses to accept the wholesome help of a commentator cannot become a promising writer or artist, so a commentator who refuses to learn from writers and artists also cannot become a promising commentator.

Leadership over literature and art through literary and art criticism represents a scientific summary of our party's experience in guiding literary and art work over a long period of time. (In order to gain such experience, we have really paid too much.) Such experience is not a result of anyone's good or evil intentions but has history as its origin. We still lack experience in such matters as: how to guide literature and art through literary and art criticism; how to build a contingent of Marxist literary and art commentators; and how to uphold and develop Marxist literary and art criticism. But we have no reason to underrate this experience already acquired, and, still less, any ground to use the "peculiarity" of the concrete process of creation to negate this experience. Through upholding and developing Marxist literary and art criticism, we must continuously strengthen and improve party leadership over literature and art. This is the inherent demand imposed by the thriving growth of socialist literature and art and also the common wish of the masses of writers and artists and commentators.

CSO: 4005/747

KMT-CPC PEACE TALKS CALLED UNTIMELY, LACK FOUNDATION

OW031001 Taipei CHUNG YANG JIH PAO in Chinese 28 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by correspondent Feng Chih-ching in the western United States]

[Excerpts] San Francisco, 27 Mar--In view of historical facts and the current political, economic, social and cultural differences between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, any unscrupulous peace talks or efforts to bring about reunification will create a tragedy in China. This was the unanimous view of the majority of Chinese scholars and American experts on Chinese affairs at the annual convention of the Society of Asian Studies.

One topic of discussion, "The Future of China's Reunification," was discussed heatedly yesterday at the convention. The meeting hall, which can accommodate more than 300 people, was fully packed.

The meeting yesterday was chaired by Chu Yung-te and Yang Li-yu, two scholars residing in the United States. Papers by six scholars and experts--Tang Te-kang, Chiu Hung-ta, Chao Chuan-shun, Wu Chia-ching (female), Chi Hsi-sheng and Chiang Ching-kuan--were presented at the meeting. Chao and Wu are the Chinese communist representatives. Although the Republic of China did not send any representative, Wang Chi-lin, a visiting scholar in New York and professor and chairman of a department of the Cultural University, attended the meeting in the capacity of commentator.

Except for the Chinese communist representatives, all the other scholars maintained that the previous three KMT-CPC peace talks not only caused wars, but also casualties of over 30 million people. They said that, because of this tragic historical lesson, it is questionable whether a fourth KMT-CPC peace talk is necessary at present.

Professor Chiu Hung-ta pointed out at the meeting that the government and people of the Republic of China simply do not trust the Chinese communists because they clearly realize that peace talks have been habitually employed by the Chinese communists as a deceptive means. He said that there is no reason why the people in the Republic of China should give up their good life and a living standard, 10 times higher than that of the people in mainland China, and turn over their destiny to the Chinese communists.

Kao Ying-mao, another Chinese scholar who also served as a commentator at the meeting, said that the ways advocated by most people for achieving reunification can be summarized as these two:

First, some people think that reunification can simply be attained through legal means. For example, the Chinese communists think that the Republic of China would capitulate as long as luring terms are included in their "constitution," or simply through establishing ties in postal, communications and commercial services and promoting exchanges in various other areas.

Second, many people maintain that reunification can be attained progressively. He said the main reason why peace talks cannot be carried out today lies basically in the lack of confidence on both sides. To build up the needed confidence, both the KMT and the CPC should be encouraged to understand one another's political and social systems and ideologies. When the gap in these areas has been narrowed down and when the differences between the two systems have been reduced, mutual trust will occur and reunification will naturally come about.

CSO: 4005/748

PREMIER SUN YUN-HSUAN RECEIVES FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLYMAN

OW181255 Taipei LIEN HO PAO in Chinese 9 Apr 83 p 2

[Text] Premier Sun Yun-hsuan yesterday received visiting French National Assemblyman (Vorgevais), and they discussed the question of opening air links between China and France. National Assemblyman (Vorgevais) said: Since Taipei has air services with Amsterdam and Luxembourg, why can't it with Paris? (Vorgevais) is a member of the Central Committee of the "Rally for the Republic," the largest French opposition party. While in China, he witnessed the grand occasion of the inauguration flight between China and the Netherlands and thought that it was a very good thing. He said that it would be even better if an air link can be established between China and France.

He stood for further strengthening cultural, economic and trade exchanges. He stressed that it is normal for France to maintain relations with Peiping, and it is also normal for France to maintain reasonable relations with Taipei. He pointed out that there is now an organization devoted to promoting Sino-French relations in Paris, which has made great contributions. From now on, he is willing to do his best in this area and urge more Frenchmen to visit and understand the Republic of China.

When the Chinese communists first opened their doors 4 years ago, (Vorgevais) paid a semiofficial visit to the mainland. In 3 weeks he visited Peiping, Shanghai, Canton and other cities. He found the Chinese people very hospitable. In this respect, there is no difference between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. The difference is that there is much more freedom, prosperity and progress in Taiwan than in mainland China.

CSO: 4005/748

SOONG DENIES BAN ON NEW NEWSPAPERS

OW142328 Taipei CHINA POST in English 10 Apr 83 p 8

[Text] Director General of the Government Information Office [GIO] James Soong denied yesterday that there is any issue about the ban on the establishment of newspapers in Taiwan, or that there is any prejudice on the part of the GIO in not allowing non-partisans to publish a newspaper.

Speaking in reply to an interpellation raised by legislator Fei Hsi-ping during a budget review session of the Legislative Yuan yesterday, Soong denied that there is any question about the ban in effect against the establishment of new newspapers. He explained, however, that it is the policy of the Government Information Office not to consider any new applications or requests to establish new newspapers at the present time.

The reason the GIO will not allow any new newspapers to be published, he said, was to improve the quality of the existing newspapers in Taiwan.

The GIO chief based his comment on the fact that although no new newspapers may be established, it is still possible for anyone to register new newspapers with the GIO. For this reason, Soong does not consider that a ban per se is in effect. None of the new registrations are being considered, however, so that it cannot be said there is any prejudice against registrations from non-partisans, he explained.

Soong also touched on the subject of the banning of magazines, saying that in each case where a magazine is confiscated or banned, the title of the offending article is always specified. For this reason, he said, it is not right to say that there are no standards for such actions.

More Selective in News Reports

In his interpellation, legislator Fei accused the local media of giving much reporting space to the answers of high-ranking officials to interpellations, but giving little or no publicity to the source of the interpellations.

To this Soong replied that the media has been urged to give equitable coverage to the questions themselves, as well as the answers. But, he added, the GIO really has no power over what is printed in the newspapers.

He stressed the fact that the GIO hopes the local media will report more wholesome news that is in the best interest of the public, and be more selective in material not beneficial to the public interest.

#### On Inviting Foreign Celebrities

In answer to Fei's criticism of the GIO for inviting foreign celebrities to award shows such as the Golden Horse awards for motion pictures and the Golden Bell awards, the GIO chief pointed out that television and movies were invented by foreigners, and the Chinese can stand to learn much from them in these areas. He noted that as of late, the trend has been to invite more backstage workers and technical personnel rather than big name celebrities.

In response to a statement by Fei that several celebrities had complained of the treatment they had received while in the ROC [Republic of China] for awards shows, Soong replied, "No such complaints have ever reached the GIO."

Soong said as far as he knows, foreign stars and entertainers that have come to Taiwan at the invitation of the GIO for the awards shows have been quite pleased with the accommodations and itineraries that have been arranged.

Although the trend is to invite more technical personnel who can contribute more experience in backstage skills, the practice of inviting well known stars to join in the awards shows is to continue, Soong said.

#### On Quality of TV Programs

In his interpellation, Fei criticized the quality of television programs and motion pictures. He said the so-called variety shows were nothing more than display cases for outlandish costumes and exhibited little if any talent. In the same vein, the plots of television serials revolve solely around a few good fights. Outside of violence, there is nothing wholesome about the programming.

Soong, in response, reiterated his concern about the quality of television programming and the content of locally produced motion pictures.

"Every time we try to do something about it," he lamented, "we raise a lot of opposition and are criticized in local magazines for using heavy handed measures to control television programming.

"I hope that those who share the opinions of legislator Fei will support the GIO in its efforts to improve the situation," he said.

CSO: 4000/110

TAIWAN

'CNA' BEGINS CHINESE TRANSMISSIONS BY COMPUTER

OW010253 Taipei CNA in English 0232 GMT 1 Apr 83

[Text] Taipei, March 31 (CNA)--The Central News Agency, Inc. will start using Chinese-language computers to transmit news to all its subscribers within the country April 1.

The CNA, the Republic of China's national news organization, will also mark its 59th founding anniversary on the same day. Beginning in January 1982, the CNA started transmitting Chinese-language news to the United States through computers and the results have been quite satisfactory, CNA president, Pan Huan-kun, said Thursday.

The computerized news service will replace the use of mimeographed copies and facsimile machines, he said.

Using a large keyboard input system, the computer can produce 9,600 different Chinese characters. Currently operators can type in more than 2,000 characters per hour. About 20,000 characters per hour can be keyed into the input machines if all of the 12 available keyboards are operated.

CNA subscribers can receive 600 characters per minute through a computer terminal, six times more than a facsimile machine can do at present, Pan said.

To celebrate its founding anniversary, CNA will hold an awards presentation ceremony to cite its senior staff members in the morning.

In the afternoon, Ma Hsin-yeh, CNA chairman, and Pan will give a tea party to welcome well-wishers. Guests will be invited to view the operation of CNA's computerized news service.

CSO: 4000/110

## BRIEFS

NEW JAPANESE REPRESENTATIVE--Tokyo, April 3 (CNA)--Former Japanese Ambassador Fujio Hara has been officially named the representative of the Interchange Association of Japan which has been the replacement of the Japanese Embassy in Taipei since severance of diplomatic ties between ROC and Japan. He is scheduled to arrive at his new post April 9, Wednesday next week. Ambassador Hara is to replace Hitomi who is the present representative of the Interchange Association in Taipei. Hara has many friends in the ROC and was closely associated with Taipei since the days when he was the director of the China section in the Foreign Ministry and later as minister of the Japanese Embassy in Taipei. In a brief telephone interview by Central News this morning, Ambassador Hara said he is looking forward to his new post in Taipei in the hope of doing more for better relations between ROC and Japan particularly in the economic and cultural areas. [Text] [OW031419 Taipei CNA in English 1350 GMT 3 Apr 83]

NETHERLANDS PARLIAMENTARIAN--Taipei, April 4 (CNA)--Member of the Dutch Parliament A.H.D. Wagenaar arrived in Taipei last Saturday for an official visit. During his eight-day stay in the Republic of China, the 42-year-old member of the European country's second chamber is scheduled to meet officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Council for Economic Planning and Development, and the Euro-Asia Trade Organization. [Text] [OW040357 Taipei CNA in English 0254 GMT 4 Apr 83]

NETHERLANDS-TAIWAN AIR SERVICE--Taipei, April 4 (CNA)--A Royal Dutch Airlines (KLM) Boeing 747 jumbo jetliner arrived in Taipei Sunday to inaugurate passenger service between the Netherlands and the Republic of China [ROC]. The plane, manned by 15 crew members, departed Amsterdam's Schiphol Airport at 7:45 pm Saturday (Amsterdam time) and landed at Chiang Kai-shek International Airport at 1:50 pm Sunday (Taipei time) after a 15-hour flight. It stopped over in Vienna, Dubai, and Bangkok. A reception was held at a hotel near the airport shortly after the arrival of the jumbo jet. More than 100 Chinese and Dutch dignitaries attended the reception. The plane from the Dutch national flag carrier left Taipei Sunday evening on its return flight. China Airlines [CAL], flag carrier of the ROC, will start operating the same route on April 12. Meanwhile, a KLM executive said in Taipei Sunday the Dutch airline is willing to help CAL extend its passenger service over the Atlantic Ocean to New York if CAL hopes to do so. He said KLM is a commercial airline dislinking political interference. The opening



of the Taipei-Amsterdam route, he said, is part of KLM's efforts to expand its global service. [Text] [OW040355 Taipei CNA in English 0246 GMT 4 Apr 83]

FRENCH FIGHTER SALES TO PRC--According to an AFP report the Republic of China's military authorities are worried but are withholding comments on reports that France has agreed in principle to sell advanced Mirage-2000 jets to Communist China. In its latest issue, the U.S. AVIATION WEEK MAGAZINE, quoting high-ranking officials in Paris, said the French Government has given the go-ahead and the negotiations are underway on the financial and the technical aspects of the sale. The magazine said the number of planes and the delivery date will be fixed during the negotiations which may take between 1 and 3 years to complete. The sources said: The possible acquisition of the French Mirage by Communist China would upset the military balance in the Taiwan Strait. They noticed that the Northrop-produced F-5E, the backbone of the Republic of China's air power was no match for the superior Mirage-2000, one of the world's best jet fighters and the equivalent of the U.S. F-16. The sources said: If Peking gets the Mirage, it will certainly raise the sensitive issue of whether the U.S. will provide more advanced jet fighters to the Republic of China in order to correct the imbalance. [Text] [OW171609 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 15 Apr 83]

LANDING RIGHTS TO NETHERLANDS AIRLINE--Taipei, April 17 (CNA)--A senior official of the Republic of China's Communications Ministry Friday offered the airports of this country for emergency landing by aircraft of the KLM Dutch Royal Airlines. Chen Shu-hsi, political vice communications minister, made the offer when reacting to the Peiping regime's decision to withdraw emergency landing rights at Canton for KLM airlines. Chen described the Peiping regime's action as "a piece of rascality," attempting to save its own face by taking away other people's safety. In order to stop China Airlines from flying to Europe, the Peiping regime has resorted to various mean tactics including the withdrawal of emergency landing rights, he pointed out. "We will never buy the Peiping regime's blackmail and we hope other free nations will continue to maintain justice and stand up to the Chinese communist threat and interference in their domestic affairs," he said. [Text] [OW180621 Taipei CNA in English 0250 GMT 18 Apr 83]

TIES WITH CANADA--Taipei, April 19 (CNA)--The Republic of China is willing to strengthen its bilateral trade and economic relationships with Canada in order to enhance the friendly ties between the two countries, James C. Y. Soong, director general of the Government Information Office, said Monday morning. A nine-member delegation of the Canadian Parliament, led by Otts Jelinek, called at the Government Information Office Monday, and were given a brief introduction to this nation. The visiting Canadian parliamentarians arrived here Sunday. While here, they will visit centers of economic activity here. They are scheduled to leave April 23. [Text] [OW190415 Taipei CNA in English 0231 GMT 19 Apr 83]

CSO: 4000/110

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